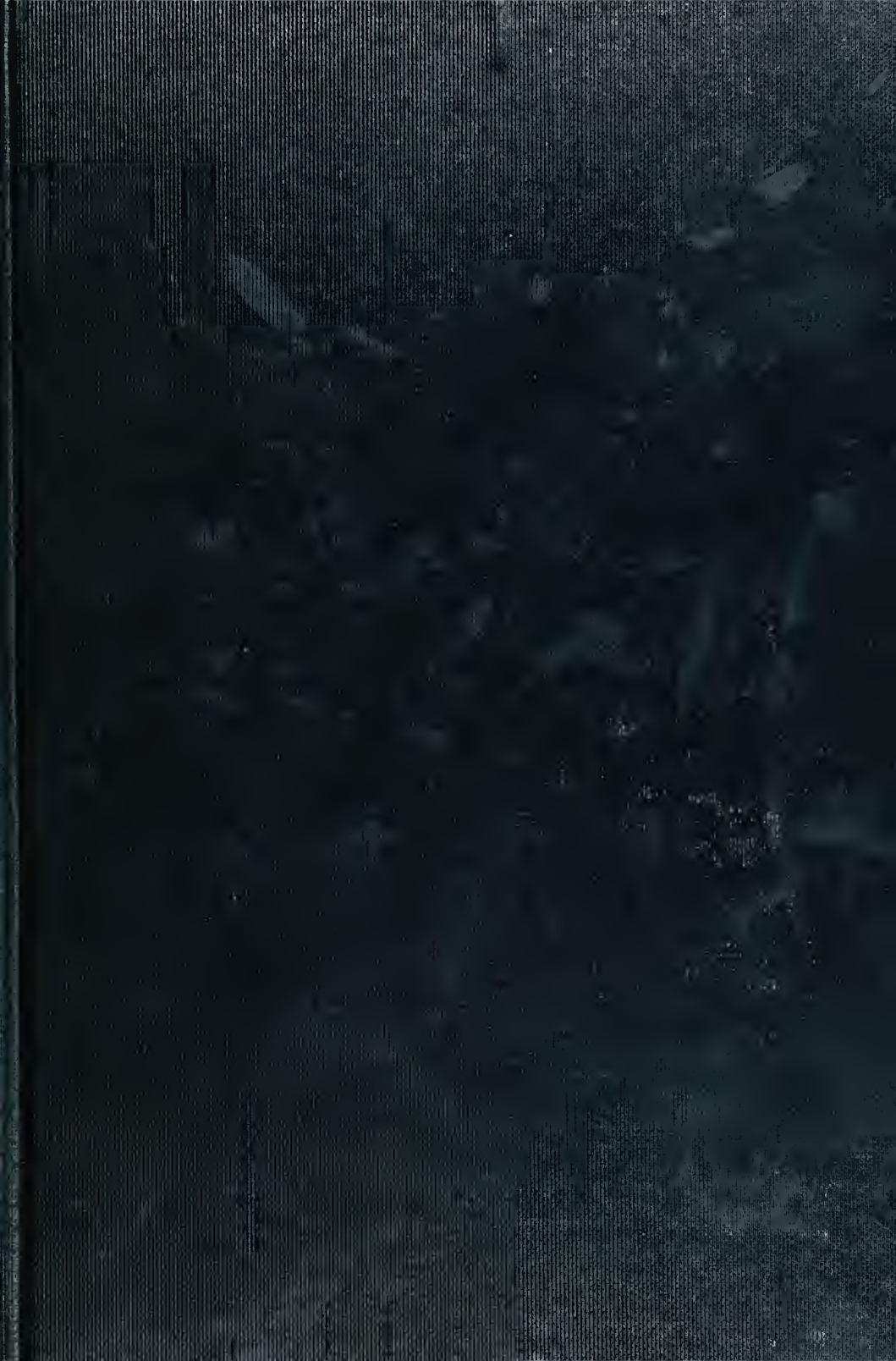




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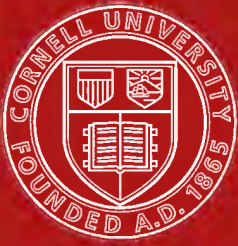
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Elizabeth Buffum Chace

In Two Volumes

Volume I



Elizabeth B. Chace.

*"Thus was I born and
baptized into the Anti-Slavery spirit."* — E. B. C.

Elizabeth Buffum Chace

1806-1899

Her Life and Its Environment

by

Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman

and

Arthur Crawford Wyman

Volume I

*"There is no better influence toward the building
up of a strong, virtuous manhood and womanhood,
than the espousal, in early life, of some great hu-
manitarian cause."* — E. B. C.

Boston
W. B. Clarke Co.
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THE WRITERS OF THIS STUDY OF REFORMS AND OF NEW
ENGLAND LIFE DURING THE COMPLETE CYCLE
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HEREBY
AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATE
THEIR WORK TO
ARNOLD BUFFUM CHACE

PREFACE

THE effort in compiling these Memoirs has been to present a vivid portrayal of an earnest woman's life in its environment. It is believed that both life and environment were somewhat unusual; that they acted upon each other, and that both could be more perfectly understood by modern readers if an adequate record was made of each.

The book is the joint production from beginning to end of the two persons whose names are given on the title-page; the impress of each is on every page; but it was the decision of the younger writer that an editorial "I" rather than "we" should be used throughout.

Much valuable assistance in preparing this book has been given by Arnold Buffum Chace, at whose desire it was written. Thanks are also cordially rendered to Francis Jackson Garrison for the use of some manuscript and for helpful suggestions; to Rev. William C. Gannett for permission to reproduce his poem, and to Miss Grace Tompson for help in revision. Thanks are also due to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Lucy Gibbons Morse, Mrs. Mary Chace Tolman and others for permission to use some letters and other manuscripts.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE	Frontispiece
In photogravure, from a painting made when she was about fifty years old.	
WENDELL PHILLIPS	Facing page 44
From an etching made in 1845. Printed by permission of F. J. Garrison.	
ELIZA EARLE HACKER	Facing page 66
From an engraving.	
ARNOLD BUFFUM, aged sixty	Facing page 80
In photogravure, from a photograph of a daguerreotype; an excellent likeness.	
REBECCA GOULD BUFFUM, aged seventy-five	Facing page 90
From a daguerreotype taken after a paralytic stroke had altered the shape of her mouth.	
STEPHEN SYMONDS FOSTER	Facing page 104
From a daguerreotype taken about 1852. Printed by permission of Miss Foster.	
JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS	Facing page 118
Printed by permission of F. J. Garrison.	
GEORGE THOMPSON	Facing page 150
From a heliotype.	
SAMUEL BUFFINGTON CHACE	Facing page 164
In photogravure, from a photograph taken in 1856.	
LUCY STONE	Facing page 186
Printed by permission of Miss Blackwell.	
MARY E. [DAY] BROWN	Facing page 206
In photogravure, from a photograph taken in California some years after the Harper's Ferry tragedy. Printed by permission of her son, Salmon Brown.	
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON	Facing page 222
In photogravure. Printed by permission of F. J. Garrison.	
ANNA ELIZABETH DICKINSON	Facing page 234

PARKER PILLSBURY	Facing page 252
From a photograph belonging to F. J. Garrison.	
SAMUEL MAY, JR.	Facing page 275
Printed by permission of the Misses May.	
SAMUEL OLIVER CHACE, aged twenty-two	Facing page 300
PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS	Facing page 314
Printed by permission of her daughter, Mrs. Maybelle P. Foster.	
EDWARD GOULD CHACE, aged eighteen .	Facing page 342

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

LIFE UNTIL THE PASSAGE OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT, AND UNTIL THE CLOSE OF SOME GREAT PERSONAL INTERESTS 1806—1872

	PAGES
CHAPTER FIRST. Birth, ancestry and early life (1806—1823)	1—19
Meeting of Elizabeth Buffum with Dr. Wm. Ellery Channing. Quakerism in Smithfield. E. B. prays to have the fabric of her dress changed to another material. She and her sister subjected to small persecutions at school in Connecticut. Intellectual influence of George D. Prentice.	
CHAPTER SECOND. Youth (1823—1839)	20—43
Girlhood. The Chace family. E. B.'s marriage to Samuel B. Chace. Letters. Family life. Journals and letters about E. B. C.'s children, and her own inward experiences. Verses to the memory of George Arnold Chace.	
CHAPTER THIRD. Anti-Slavery work (1832—1839)	44—67
Records of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Fall River. Obscure propaganda. Letters to and from Arnold Buffum and other Abolitionists. E. B. C.'s friendship with Maria Weston Chapman.	
CHAPTER FOURTH. Removal to Valley Falls (1837— 1843)	68—79
Business failure. Honesty of the Chace brothers. Removal, residence and social life in Pawtucket and Valley Falls, R. I. E. B. C.'s letter to Arnold Buffum and to a fugitive slave. Verses on the death of John Gould Chace, and on the "Last of Five." Attitude toward Garrison.	
CHAPTER FIFTH. Moral contest with indifferent or Pro-Slavery Friends (1843)	80—98
Garrisonianism. Letters from Arnold Buffum in the West. E. B. C. bears testimony in the Friends' Meeting. Letter of resignation from the Society of Friends.	

CHAPTER SIXTH. Change of religious opinion without mental struggle (1844)	99-118
Influence of Cyrus M. Burleigh and Theodore Parker upon E. B. C.'s theology. Interest in Spiritualism. Domestic life. Passing reforms. Anecdotes. S. B. C., L. B. C. and Joshua R. Giddings.	
CHAPTER SEVENTH. Local friendships and family life (1840-1858)	119-135
Paulina Wright and Thomas Davis; Joanna Ballou; Sophia Little. A village tragedy. Growth of intimacy between the Greene and Chace families. E. B. C. accepts social ostracism unresistingly. Anecdotes about the Sisson sisters. E. B. C. recommends Consuelo to Adam Anthony with results. A younger Elizabeth Chace. Death of Mrs. Borden. Friend- ship with Edward H. Magill and his family. Education of the children. The building of the Homestead. Laying the corner stone.	
CHAPTER EIGHTH. Anti-Slavery friendships	136-163
E. B. C.'s acquaintance with the Garrisons, the Hutchinson family, C. C. Burleigh, Abby K. Foster, C. L. Remond, H. C. Wright, Sallie Holley, Sojourner Truth, Wm. W. Brown, Frederick Douglass, Parker Pillsbury, Capt. Dray- ton and Wendell Phillips. General correspondence. Visit to Eagleswood. Letter to George D. Prentice.	
CHAPTER NINTH. Anti-Slavery correspondence (1850-1859)	164-200
Letters mainly from Samuel May, Jr., as agent, and the Anti-Slavery speakers whom he put in communication with E. B. C. Two especially notable letters from Stephen S. Foster. Death of Arnold Buffum.	
CHAPTER TENTH. Life in the Homestead	201-220
Indulgence to children. John Brown episode. Last months before the Civil War. First inadequate conception of the coming struggle. Anti-Slavery hopes. E. B. C.'s attitude towards service in the army.	
CHAPTER ELEVENTH. Anti-Slavery work (1861- 1862)	221-244
The first years of the war. Correspondence and interviews with prominent Abolitionists. Growing divergence of opin- ion in the Anti-Slavery group. Letter from William Lloyd Garrison about the draft for the war.	
CHAPTER TWELFTH. Personal and national history (1862-1865)	245-274
Abraham Lincoln's character variously construed. Authori- ties cited. Interviews with Wendell Phillips and Frederick	

Douglass. Letters upon personal and national themes from William Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, E. B. C. and others.

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH. Events public and private
(1865-1867) 275-301

Family correspondence. E. B. C.'s interest in the Freedmen. Continued labor with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Letters from Samuel May, Jr., Lucy Stone and others. Local work. Illness and death of Samuel Oliver Chace. Letters from Edward Gould Chace, George Thompson, E. B. C. and Wendell Phillips. A soldier's reminiscence of S. O. C.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH. Passing on from bereave-
ment to new work 302-312

Visits to the Progressive Friends and to Eagleswood. Letters from Lucy Stone, Parker Pillsbury and others on public and private topics. Scene with Wendell Phillips in the Homestead. The Woman Suffrage Cause. First Woman Suffrage Convention in Providence held in Roger Williams Hall, December 11, 1868. Lucy Stone bids E. B. C. "let the housekeeping take care of itself while you take care of the Republic."

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH. Division in Woman Suffrage
ranks (1869) 313-324

Personal letters. Correspondence on matters that led to the formation of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Mr. Chace's increasing illness.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH. Bereavement and effort 325-349

Work to establish the Ladies' Board of Visitors for State Institutions and letters about it. Death of Mr. Chace. Funeral address by Mr. Garrison. Death of Edward Gould Chace. Western trip. Marriage of Arnold Buffum Chace.

APPENDIX 351

Anecdote of John Brown and Mary Day, who was afterward his wife. Letters to Mrs. Brown and her family from Mr. and Mrs. Spring.

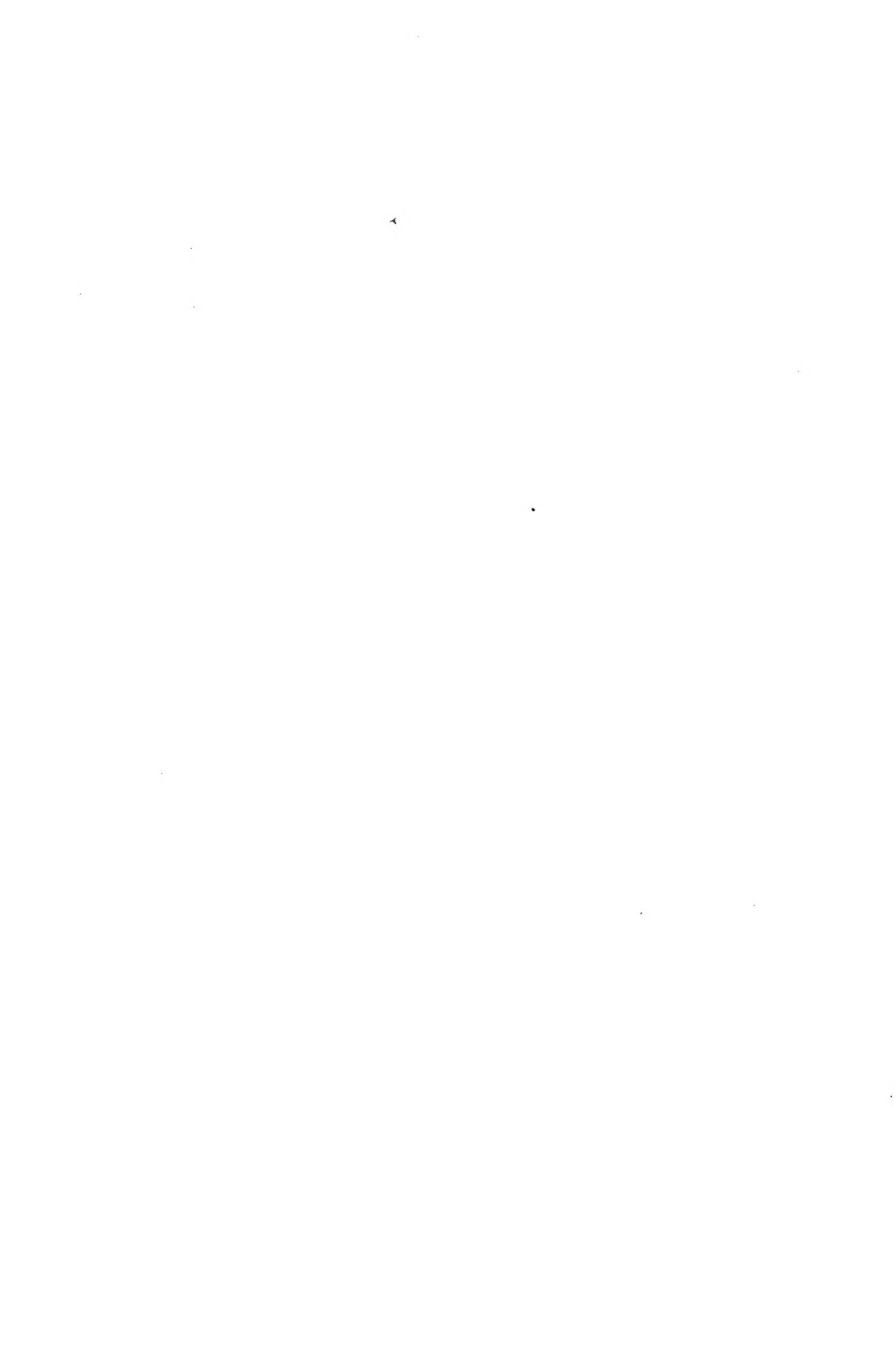


TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN VOLUME I

LETTERS FROM

- Adams, Mary H., to E. B. C., 176.
 Bartlett, John R., to E. B. C., 334.
 Breed, Daniel, to E. B. C., 287.
 Brown, John, to Mrs. Spring, 209, 210.
 Brown, William Wells, to E. B. C., 172, 174, 199.
 Bryce, Eliza, to E. B. C., 87.
 Buffum, Arnold, to E. B. C., 58, 88, 90, 150, 151, 152, 153, 158;
 to Samuel B. Chace, 24, 34; to Sarah G. Buffum, 60; to
 Lucy Buffum Lovell, 91; to Mr. and Mrs. Chace, 85.
 Buffum, David, to E. B. C., 167, 176.
 Buffum, Elizabeth, to Arnold Buffum, 18; to Sarah G. Buffum,
 19; to Eliza Earle, 14.
 Buffum, Lydia, to E. B. C., 49, 88.
 Buffum, Rebecca, to E. B. C., 45.
 Burleigh, Charles C., to Samuel B. Chace, 58; to E. B. C., 165,
 180.
 Burleigh, Cyrus M., to E. B. C., 100; to Samuel B. Chace, 164.
 Caswell, Dr. Alexis, to E. B. C., 310.
 Chace, Abby (Mrs. George I.), to E. B. C., 342.
 Chace, Edward Gould, to C. M. H., 297, 305, 306, 311, 313, 315,
 317, 321, 325.
 Chace, Elizabeth Buffum, to Arnold Buffum, 48, 69, 78, 87; to
 Benjamin Buffum, 255; to Rebecca Gould Buffum, 34, 40,
 48; to Effingham L. Caprou, 162; to Arnold B. Chace, 210,
 212, 275, 276; to Mrs. George I. Chace, 194; to Lillie B.
 Chace, 284, 290; to Mary Chace, 283, 289, 290, 291, 298,
 307, 344; to Samuel B. Chace, 26, 35, 41, 61, 99, 155, 156,
 302; to Samuel O. Chace, 275; to Eliza Earle, 65; to
 Sophia Ford, 157; to William Lloyd Garrison, 149; to
 James Lawton, 148; to Mrs. Livermore, 56; to George D.
 Prentice, 161; to Lydia Buffum Read, 149, 150; to Mrs.

Savin, 287; to Rebecca B. Spring, 150; to Dr. Samuel Tobey, 193, 277; to Sarah Tobey, 168; to Robert F. Wallcut, 245; to a fugitive slave, 70; to a sister, 151; to Martha ———, 221; to ———, 179.

Chace, L. B., to Lucy F. Lovell, 222, 258, 262, 264, 267; to E. B. C., 261, 285; to ———, 345.

Chace, Samuel Oliver, to Mary Chace, 295.

Channing, William F., to E. B. C., 341.

Chapman, Maria Weston, to E. B. C., 56, 62.

Churchill, Elizabeth K., to E. B. C., 321.

Clarke, Peleg, to E. B. C., 197.

Crane, Amanda, to E. B. C., 342.

Cranston, Edward C., to E. B. C., 168, 186.

Davis, Paulina Wright, to E. B. C., 121, 314, 334.

Dickinson, Anna E., to E. B. C., 240.

Doyle, Sarah E. H. (Mrs. Louis J.), to E. B. C., 333.

Doyle, Thomas A., to E. B. C., 332.

Foster, Abby Kelley, to E. B. C., 240.

Foster, Stephen S., to E. B. C., 163, 190, 191, 310; to Samuel May, Jr., 189.

Garrison, Frank J., to E. B. C., 344.

Garrison, Helen Eliza (Mrs. William Lloyd), to E. B. C., 214, 227.

Garrison, William Lloyd, to Arnold B. Chace, 339; to E. B. C., 101, 159, 165, 185, 192, 199, 241, 259, 311, 336, 347; to Samuel B. Chace, 63.

Griffing, Josephine, to E. B. C., 285.

Grimké, Sarah M., to E. B. C., 66.

Harris, Abbie [Metcalf] (Mrs. Edward), to E. B. C., 225.

Harris, Edward, to E. B. C., 187.

Hathaway, Thomas M., to E. B. C., 189.

Hazard, Rowland G., to E. B. C., 348.

Heywood, Ezra H., to E. B. C., 188, 199, 253.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, to E. B. C., 323, 349.

Holley, Sallie, to E. B. C., 176, 184, 193, 213, 226, 227, 241, 288, 291.

Hoppin, Louise C., to E. B. C., 224.

Johnson, Ezra R., to E. B. C., 64.

Johnson, Oliver, to E. B. C., 62.

Johnson, Samuel, to Samuel May, Jr., 193.

Knowles, C. C., to E. B. C., 234.
 Lawton, James, to E. B. C., 254.
 Lewis, Dr. Dio, to E. B. C., 272.
 Little, Sophia L., to E. B. C., 344.
 Loring, Ellis Gray, to E. B. C., 92.
 Mann, Sarah B., to L. B. C. W., 205.
 May, Samuel, Jr., to E. B. C., 165, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177,
 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 192,
 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 200, 230, 233, 235, 236, 245, 278.
 Osborne, John, to E. B. C., 170.
 Padelford, Gov. Seth, to E. B. C., 335.
 Phillips, Wendell, to E. B. C., 66, 101, 158, 298; to L. B. C., 343.
 Pillsbury, Parker, to E. B. C., 153, 164, 192, 229, 246, 251,
 286, 287, 304; to Mr. and Mrs. Chace, 154; to Daniel
 Mitchell, 153.
 Richardson, Erastus, to E. B. C., 300.
 Severance, Caroline M., to E. B. C., 323, 345.
 Sheffield, William P., to E. B. C., 331.
 Shove, Hannah, to E. B. C., 65.
 Smiley, Albert K., to J. B. Smith, 276, 278.
 Snow, Edwin M., to E. B. C., 332.
 Spring, Marcus, to E. B. C., 92, 253.
 Spring, Rebecca B., to E. B. C., 114, 151, 208.
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, to E. B. C., 315.
 Stephens, Mr., to G. Sennott, 208.
 Stone, Lucy, to E. B. C., 160, 288, 290, 291, 303, 312, 316, 318,
 323, 324.
 Swain, J., to E. B. C., 308.
 Talcott, J. M., to E. B. C., 335.
 Thompson, George, to E. B. C., 297, 298.
 Tobey, Dr. Samuel, to E. B. C., 278.
 Wallcut, Robert F., to E. B. C., 160.
 Whipple, Charles K., to E. B. C., 323.
 Wilbur, Hannah, to E. B. C., 86.
 Wright, Henry C., to E. B. C., 186, 215; to Mr. and Mrs.
 Chace, 157.
 ———, to E. B. C., 167, 179.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED MATTER, EXTRACTS
OR FULL REPRODUCTIONS, IN VOLUME I

BY ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE

Extracts from Reminiscences of Her Childhood and from her
Journals, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 36-39, 40, 41, 93, 131.

Record of her only speech in Quaker meeting, 93.

Verses about her children, 41, 75, 77.

Characterization of William Lloyd Garrison, 78.

Letter of resignation from the Society of Friends, 95.

Characterization of Parker Pillsbury, 144.

Account of Temperance Crusade, 292.

Memoranda of visits to Penal and Correctional Institutions,
326.

Sketch of S. B. Chace, 340.

Address to the Committee of the Baptist Meeting House by
Mr. and Mrs. Chace, 232.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obituary notice of George Arnold Chace in the *Liberator*, 43.

Preamble and Article Third of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society
of Fall River, 50.

Resolution offered by E. B. C., 51.

Address from the Smithfield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, 59.

Petition to Congress against the admission of Texas, 64.

Quotation from the *Liberator*, 67.

Quotations from George L. Austin in his Biography of Wendell
Phillips, 82.

Quotations from Wendell Phillips' published letters and ora-
tions, 83, 84.

Amendment to the Constitution which passed the first stage of
enactment and was then dropped (February, 1861), 213.

Quotations from President Lincoln's first Inaugural Address, 214.
 Quotations from Lincoln's letter to Horace Greeley, 217.
 Quotation from Phillips' oration, 217.
 Quotation from Phillips' letter to *New York Tribune*, August 16, 1862, 217, 218.
 Quotations from the Garrison Biography, 218, 225.
 Quotations from Pierce's Memoir of Sumner, 227, 234, 244.
 Quotation from Dr. Samuel G. Howe to F. W. Bird (from the Journals and Letters of S. G. Howe), 227.
 Quotation from Wendell Phillips, May, 1802, 238.
 Quotations from Moncure D. Conway, 248, 249.
 Quotation from letter of Frank W. Bird to M. D. Conway (given in Conway's Autobiography, page 383, Vol. I), 249.
 Quotation from Adams' biography of Richard Henry Dana (Vol. II, page 264), 250.
 Resolution offered by Mr. Phillips in January meeting, 1864, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 257.
 Amendment offered by Mr. Garrison, 257.
 Extracts from a letter sent by Mr. Phillips to the Cleveland Convention of 1864, 260.
 Extracts from letter by Mr. Garrison to Professor Newman, July, 1864, 260.
 Memoranda by G. V. Fox, quoted from Life of John Murray Forbes, 266.
 Quotations from Life of Garrison, 269.
 Edward L. Pierce, from his Memoir of Sumner, 271, 272.
 Quotation from Life of Garrison, 273.
 Executive Committees of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1864 and 1865, 282.
 Memorial of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association (March, 1870), 329.
 Extracts from the Address of William Lloyd Garrison at Mr. Chace's funeral, 337.
 Manuscript draft of obituary of Mr. Chace by Wendell Phillips, 239.

ERRATA FOR VOLUME I

There is a slight mistake on page 1 in regard to Elizabeth Buffum's birthplace. She was born in a house which stood a few rods north of the point where Main Street began to be called Benefit Street.

On page 269 in the first paragraph there should be a comma after "a peace woman," and none after "onward."

On page 273, "These passages occur in the Life of Garrison, Vol. IV, pages 157-58-59 and page 161," should be, "The following passage occurs in the Life of Garrison, Vol. IV, on page 157."

CHAPTER FIRST

BIRTH, ANCESTRY, EARLY LIFE

ELIZABETH BUFFUM was born December 9, 1806, in a house on Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island. Her ancestors, with few exceptions, had been Quakers from the time of George Fox, and they had been residents of what is now Rhode Island since an early Colonial period. Their Quakerism had prevented many of them from rising to great social or political eminence, but they had led solid and respected lives, and had served their own desires and the common welfare with due zeal and sober steadfastness.

Elizabeth's mother, Rebecca, was descended from Jeremiah Gould, an Englishman, who in the year 1637 brought his young son Daniel to the Aquidneck Island, settled him there on a landed estate, and then himself returned to England. Daniel one day ventured to go to Boston, Massachusetts. He was entering the intolerant little town, in company with William Robinson, when both, being Quakers, were arrested. Robinson had been previously banished, so he was speedily hanged for having set his audacious foot again within the town. Daniel Gould had not been so forbidden to enter its precincts. The judge before whom he was brought merely sentenced him to be whipped on Boston Common, and it was said that in passing the sentence this judge, with charming frankness, explicitly stated that the unpleasant penalty was to be inflicted upon Daniel because he was "a cursed Quaker."

Daniel Gould married, in 1651, the daughter of John Coggeshall, first president of the Aquidneck Colony. Tradi-

tion affirms that George Fox was present at this wedding, and I was once shown an ancient scroll and told that it was the wedding certificate of this Gould and Coggeshall alliance, and that a tiny scrawl on its surface was George Fox's autograph.

The Gould estate remained in the possession of the family for more than two hundred years. Some of its outlying acres were, I believe, sold or portioned off among the various heirs, but for six or seven generations the main farm and homestead buildings passed directly from eldest son to eldest son. At last it became the inheritance of a female heir, who sold it.

The Gould farm was situated about three miles from the older part of Newport, and there its gentle race thrived and wedded and trained its sons and daughters—the older son to the farmer life and the dignity of small but sufficient land proprietorship, the younger sons to honest manual trades and common business employment, or, as time passed on, to migration into other regions.

Finally, one John Gould became the landowner, and family report describes him as a personage rather like the typical gentleman who appears now and then on such a family stage, where even peasants and coopers are conscious of possessing “a long pedigree” and a settled religion.

It is not likely that he was a really well-educated man, but he seems to have been scholarly in his tastes and somewhat acquainted with languages other than English. He had several sons and six daughters, five of whom were unusually beautiful. One was homely. She never married; all the others did. Her name was Hannah; she became a spinster saint, and took care of an insane brother. Her soul, if not her face, must have been

“Fair as a star when only one
Is shining in the sky.”

Rebecca, born in 1781, was the youngest in this group of sisters. Was it Quakerism which restricted life or dulled aspiration in this Colonial home? Rebecca was born and passed her childhood near the ocean, yet she was "grown up" before she ever went to see the Newport beaches. She was, however, exceedingly fair to look upon. She attended Quaker meetings, where she met Arnold Buffum, who was attracted to her placid, perfect beauty, and he married her when he and she were each twenty-two years old.

His family settled in Massachusetts when they first came to this country, and their trans-Atlantic origin is involved in some obscurity. Moreover, it may as well be admitted by the present writer that an indiscreet genealogist has printed an assertion that there is reason to believe that the first Buffum left his original country under some sort of a cloud, and came hither to seek the sunshine that had failed at home. *I*, however, stoutly refuse to believe that the aforesaid cloud, if it existed at all, had not a rainbow of righteousness upon it.

A branch of the Buffum family established itself in Smithfield, Rhode Island, in 1715, when one Joseph brought his bride, Margaret Osborne, from Massachusetts. She returned on horseback for her first confinement, because there were not neighbors in Smithfield to give her assistance in her hour of supreme need.

As the years passed, a scattered community of rural workers gathered around the Buffum farm in Rhode Island, and Margaret moved among them like a local sovereign. She seems to have influenced the life about her, mainly because she had much common sense and solid quality of good character, but largely because she intended to govern and be obeyed. She was the mother of fourteen children, and she brought up eight more, of whom she took charge because they were unprovided with other guardians.

The reverse side to her character was very likely shaded a little darkly by the educational spirit of her time. Legend does say that her domestic scepter was rather like a rod of iron. Still, she was a good, almost a great woman.

Joseph Buffum, her husband, was a Quaker by birth and breeding. Margaret became one, and Quakerism remained the Buffum religion.

William, father of Arnold, and third child of Joseph and Margaret Buffum, occupied a farmhouse still standing in Smithfield, and long known as the Buffum Homestead. He lived there as proprietor till his death in 1829—a strong-minded, autocratic, noble-natured, testy-tempered Quaker countryman. He united with his farming industry a mercantile business suited to the needs of the rural community in which he dwelt. He kept a store on his farm, and in due time he became a director in the newly organized bank of the Union Village.

William Buffum's wife was Lydia Arnold, a tall, delicate-natured woman, of whom her husband said, near the end of their half century of union, that she had never spoken an irritated word to him. Her granddaughter Elizabeth, however, when less than ten years old, was staying in the house and heard a single natural breath from the sweet, fragile woman. William Buffum, one afternoon, was due at a bank meeting, and when all else was ready for his start his own special carriage whip was missing. That whip should have been standing patient and meek behind the tall clock. It was not there, and old William fretted and fumed and blamed everybody but himself, and predicted disaster to all vested interests if he were late at the bank, and made the household all unhappy till finally somebody found the whip, and then he departed, leaving weary, feminine spirits behind him. Little Elizabeth burst into speech. "I'm glad he's gone," and then felt frightened lest her grandmother should think

she had spoken disrespectfully of the venerated house master; but greatly to the child's relief that fine old lady said gently, "I am glad too." It was the only time that Elizabeth ever knew her grandmother to show any sign that she was in the least disturbed or fatigued by her husband's little tempers.

Lydia Arnold Buffum lived to old age, and her sweetness made lasting impression on the mind of Elizabeth Buffum, in whose own character indeed seemed blended, yet not wholly reconciled, the imperious qualities of Margaret Osborne and the passive yet strong, delicate nature of Lydia Arnold.

One quaint custom prevailed in the Buffum household, even after the nineteenth century had long since begun. Each autumn the corn raised on the farm was sent to a mill to be ground. When the new grist of meal came back, a supper of hasty pudding was prepared and served in the kitchen; and the Buffum family, which at all other times ate by itself in the dining room, went to the kitchen and partook of the supper in a thanksgiving spirit of equal comradery with all the "hired help." Doubtless the child Elizabeth looked on at these meals and sat by her grandparents and ate her pudding and felt and thought, and who shall say which was the stronger impression she received into her childish mind—that of family pride in its own vantage position, whence it could graciously condescend; or that of human fraternity? Who shall say—for there is no denying a fact, upon which I need not overmuch insist, that all through Elizabeth Buffum's after life an instinct of rather chilly, personal aristocracy moved close beside that of warm, human sympathy, and each contradicted, thwarted, and modified the action of the other.

William Buffum's eldest son, Thomas, was a judge, who refused promotion to a higher court because he feared that sitting in it he might have to pronounce a death sentence.

William Buffum's youngest son bore the father's name.

He was an amiable man, the favorite uncle of the child Elizabeth. He became in due time properly anti-slavery.

One Buffum sister married Samuel Shove, another Otis Bartlett, another Walter Allen, another found a husband in the Arnold family, and Patience, the eldest, married Pliny Earle, of Leicester, Massachusetts. Among the children she bore him the most distinguished was the well-known alienist, Dr. Pliny Earle. Another child of hers, Eliza, however, must be mentioned especially, because she became her cousin Elizabeth's close friend in the period of girlhood. Eliza finally married William Hacker, a Philadelphia Quaker.

Such, as suggested above, was the general character of the family group into which Arnold, the second son of William and Lydia Buffum, in 1803, brought his Island wife, the lovely, straight-featured, calm-eyed Rebecca Gould, and in such environment was born and bred their second daughter, Elizabeth.

There was more sweet, decorous formalism on the Gould side, more eager impulse and impetuous ethic or disregard of ethic on the Buffum side of Elizabeth's relationship, and the Buffums were the brainier folk. So far as we know, there was no lawful Buffum descendant of Joseph and Margaret who ever got into the state's prison; and, on the whole, the Buffums were characterized by much quality best described as gentleness; still, there was not only iron in their blood, but also a strain of something wild, untamable, and unamenable to law, and a tendency to mild haughtiness and minor self-indulgence. Arnold Buffum's niece, Caroline Bartlett Brown, once said pertinently of her kinsfolk, "I never knew a Buffum who was not lazy, and who was not proud of being lazy."

Educational theory tends toward the opinion that influences surrounding early childhood have powerful effect upon

the formation of the character grooves in which the adult life will flow, and therefore it seems worth while to record nearly all that is known as to the far-off childhood of Elizabeth Buffum—a childhood brooded over by a now almost vanished religion, and nestled among social and political hopes and purposes that had just emerged from war with a parental monarchy, and were even then fluttering towards the later fraternal conflict.

Arnold Buffum was a Federalist, who thought ill of Thomas Jefferson, of Thomas Paine, and Andrew Jackson.

He was an inventor, and the parchment scroll of one of his patents bears the autograph signature of Thomas Jefferson, President. Let the reader try to imagine what that autograph implies as to the industrial condition early in the nineteenth century, when it was part of the duty of the President of the United States to sign all patent papers and he had not so much else to do but that he could.

Arnold Buffum's main business was the manufacture and sale of hats, but he was also an inventor, a sheep raiser, a land speculator, and a lecturer.

Within the close family life some things must be noted at once as affecting Elizabeth's juvenile development. She was Lydia Buffum's favorite grandchild; she was one of a group of five sisters, and she had no brother who lived long enough to become individual to her until she herself was a young woman. Her two brothers, William Arnold and Edward Gould, were respectively fourteen and sixteen years younger than herself, so the little girl grew among girls in the soft years of childhood. Her sisters were Sarah, older than herself and so long as both lived her especial comrade, and Lucy, Rebecca, and Lydia, who followed her entrance into the world at such intervals that the last one was ten years younger than Sarah.

Although born in Providence, Elizabeth's earliest memory

was of an incident which occurred in Smithfield; and, oddly enough in view of her later main interests, that incident was emphasized on her memory by a feeling that something was unjust.

Her mother's after opinion was that Elizabeth was not more than nineteen months old when this incident occurred. The young father and mother went to drive and took Sarah, leaving the tiny Elizabeth behind. That baby stood in the doorway, watched the party drive away, and felt not only grieved, but also that it was not fair that she could not go if Sarah did. It was not perhaps a very noble resentment, but the remembering woman always declared that it was a distinct consciousness of moral wrong which she then experienced and not merely a sense of disappointed desire.

She began to attend a school in Providence when she was between two and three years old, and on her daily walks to and from school the atom of a human creature wore a regular though properly small Quaker bonnet. She learned fast enough certainly, for she left an autobiographical fragment written in 1882, in which she says: "I remember well standing, when I was just three and a half, between the knees of a young man who was a cousin of my father's and reading to a large company of Friends from the 'Book of Discipline' of 'Our Society,' much to their amusement, no doubt, if not to their edification. Their praises of my reading rang in my ears for a long time, and I dare say made me a vain, self-conceited little thing."

When she was only three or four years older, it became one of her duties to read to her grandfather and grandmother Buffum the annual messages of the President of the United States and the reports in the *Manufacturers' Journal* of Congressional proceedings.

At this time, Providence was still under such sweetly primitive sway that each evening a town crier walked

through the streets ringing a large hand bell and shouting, "Nine o'clock, and all is well." What a sound for Elizabeth to hear as she fell asleep—the footsteps passing along the street, with its dear, quaint name of Benefit; the fine, metallic clangor of the bell; and the droning proclamation that not yet had come the hour when Time should be no more, though still abided peace on earth and good will in the drowsy city by the bay.

Silk culture was to a small extent a Rhode Island effort in this general period. Mulberry trees were planted to furnish food for the silk caterpillars, and one enterprising damsel in the Buffum tribe raised silkworms, handled cocoons, and spun thread till she had enough to be woven into so many yards of the fabric that she made thereof her wedding gown. In due time Elizabeth came into possession of a piece of that stuff, and left it to her own descendants.

Arnold Buffum's family moved back to Smithfield while Elizabeth was still very little. In the autobiographic manuscript quoted above she says: "I was taken regularly to meeting, where I was early impressed with the very great blessing of a birthright membership in the Society of Friends; and whatever this may now have become, I do think that at that time and in our circumstances it was a privilege to be thankful for. The preaching we heard was of an emotional character, with very little of the theological; and the moral atmosphere which surrounded us was good. My father and mother were especially diligent in teaching us morally, making good conduct the aim and purpose as well as the test of religious character. My mother was a very modest, quiet, unassuming woman, devoting herself exclusively to her family duties, and she was the most thoroughly honest and truthful woman I ever saw. I have no reason to think she would have varied from the truth in the slightest manner, to save her life. So, whatever of truthfulness and love of the truth

have been mine, I attribute to my early training; and when, in after years, I was obliged to renounce the limitations and theologies of sect for the broader and purer principles of human brotherhood and more liberal philosophy, it was the love of truth thus early impressed upon me which led me out.

“When I was a very little girl I used to be very fond of going off by myself and thinking about things I was not accustomed to hear talked of. One thing in particular was a frequent subject of my mental questioning. ‘How came there ever to be anything?’ and, pursuing this inquiry, I would penetrate into the great sea of darkness and mystery and try to imagine how it would be if there had never been anything; until I would seem to myself to be so near lost in immensity that I was glad to escape from my solitude and run back to play with the other children, which I was as fond of doing as any of them, and no one ever heard of my searchings into the infinite.”

When Elizabeth was six or seven years old her father failed in business. At the time of the failure, many of Arnold Buffum’s family were furnished with extremely small hands and tolerably large appetites. So two or three of the older babies did, for a little while, some childish labor in one of the mills which had then newly arisen to blur the rustic beauty of the Blackstone valley. I fancy that the proud little Elizabeth did not much enjoy this wage-earning experience. It was soon over, however. The father got new employment, but before the whole distress was relieved Lydia Buffum took Elizabeth to the ancestral farm, and during all her younger life the girl abode there much of the time, though not to such an extent as to cease to be a constituent member of her father’s household.

First Day observance in the Smithfield Quaker settlement partook but little of Puritanic severity. During Elizabeth’s

youth the Quaker meeting house was the only church building in the immediate region. Not all dwellers in that part of the township were members of the Friends' Society, nor did they follow all its daily rule; but, if they attended religious meeting at all, they went to the house where the Quakers sat. There was, however, a large group of distinctively Quaker families, among whom was much interrelationship by blood and marriage.

Many of these families were kinsfolk and some were descendants of William and Lydia Buffum, and after the forenoon Sunday meeting the members of this clan habitually flocked to the Buffum Homestead Farm to spend the late afternoon and early evening hours in decorous enjoyment. The men and boys were probably idle in these hours, but the women and girls carried light needlework with them and kept their fingers busy.

Elizabeth was religiously disposed, but she translated religious ideas according to infantine need, and she felt the usual juvenile desires. So it chanced that when she was eight or nine years old Grandmother Lydia provided the young creature with a nice, serviceable Scotch gingham frock to be her best autumnal gown; and, alas, Elizabeth was not glad and grateful. How could she be? *All* the other little girls in all the other families of her peers had frocks that season made of a woolen fabric called bombazet. Elizabeth sadly and dutifully put on her gingham and wore it to Quaker meeting, but over it, that day, she wore a long cloak which hid the obnoxious stuff from the melancholy gaze of her dark eyes. She sat soberly on her bench in the sober meeting house, where her ancestry had long awaited the "moving of the Spirit," and she prayed through the whole meeting hour—prayed that a miracle be wrought, and her gingham be changed under her cloak to bombazet. Alas, again! she went home, and when, palpitating with hope, faith,

and fear, she unfastened the cloak, she found that Scotch gingham just as ginghamy as ever.

Many industries were carried on at the Buffum farm—spinning and string making, as well as more simply agricultural and housekeeping avocations—and the child Elizabeth lived close to labor realities. The household life was generous and even luxurious for the time and place. Warming pans made the beds comfortable on winter nights, and the house was the first one, in all the country round about, into which water came without immediate manual labor. William Buffum constructed a rude aqueduct of logs leading from a hillside spring, and so water flowed freely into his house to supply the needs of the delicate women there.

Sometimes she visited her mother's relatives on the Gould farm, and then she stared wonderingly at the windows of an upper room, where the family sorrow abided—the insane uncle whom the child never saw except thus, she gazing from the yard and perceiving a face at the window.

John W. Chadwick says that once when Elizabeth, being then eight years old, was strolling about the Island lanes, all by her "lone self," she was tempted by a fruit-laden bough that, out of mere alluring perversity, overhung the wall, inside of which it should have morally curved, and being so tempted she plucked a ripely beautiful peach. Continuing her walk she encountered William Ellery Channing, driving in a chaise. He was then hardly developed into the great divine, but he was fully developed into a saint. For some kindly reason he took the diminutive maiden into his chaise, and so won her confidence that she poured out her heart's tribulation to him. She told him what she had done, and that she now feared she had committed the sin of theft. He comforted her, but—stern moralist that he was—he induced her to go and confess all about the peach to the lawful owner of the tree, who apparently was not so vindictively affected

by her transgression as was the legendary owner of the apple tree in Eden by a similar feminine performance.

In the Smithfield neighborhood, says Mrs. Chace, "we said 'thee' and 'thou,' called the months of the year and the days of the week by their numbers, not by what we considered their 'heathen names,' addressed persons of all ages and spoke of them by their Christian names, and we wore clothing of somber colors, made in a peculiar fashion, and believed we were a chosen people.

"But there came a time, when I was about ten years old, that my father's business caused a removal into the state of Connecticut, the land of blue laws and of Presbyterianism. My sister and I were sent to the public school. The scholars were required to salute the teachers as they entered, and every time they stood before her in the class, with a bow from the boys and a curtsy from the girls, and in going to and from school to greet thus every person whom they met on the road. Our father had instructed us that all such obeisance to human beings was contrary to the spirit and teachings of Christ, who had forbidden his disciples to call any man Master, and we were cautioned not to comply with any such custom. My sister, who was younger than I, was first called on to make what the teacher called her 'manners,' and so she was the first to refuse. The teacher threatened to whip her, and the poor child, too young to understand the principle involved, could only say, 'My father doesn't want me to,' and the teacher let her pass for that day. The next day, my father went and explained, and so got us excused; but it did not save us from much jeering and insult from our schoolmates, and, I presume, some disrepute among our teachers. But we bore it all pretty calmly for conscience' sake. We were, even at that early age, familiar with persecutions of the Quakers, both in Old and New England, and we felt in our little hearts that we were right. We said

'thee' though the boys rudely mocked us, and we were happy in our plain clothes. I can recall no feeling of regret that we were obliged to appear so different from the other children, and when they threw our little plain bonnets on the floor and stamped them out of shape, uttering the opprobrious name 'Quaker' in our ears, I cannot recollect any sorrow beyond that for the spoiling of the bonnets. After a few years we returned to our old home, where our persecution for conscience' sake was at an end, and I remained in the Society of Friends until many years after. I was obliged to sever my connection therewith as conscientiously as I had hitherto adhered to it."

Many of the letters in these volumes have been condensed, and in most cases no other note than this has been made of the condensation.

In 1822, Elizabeth wrote thus sagely to her "dearest Eliza Earle":

"What can be nobler, more exalted, more refined than a virtuous friendship? Founded on the never failing basis of Virtue and her handmaid Sincerity, it inspires and purifies the heart, raises it above the trifles of the world, and soothes into placid slumber the corroding cares which oftentimes disturb the peace of a feeling mind."

Her reverential biographers humbly submit the sentence beginning with the word "Founded," confident that there is not another in the English language to match it. Poor little loving cousin of "dearest" Eliza Earle, she was only fifteen when she erected that verbal structure!

This mite of moral purpose also tells Eliza "that in little villages like our dear Woonsocket detraction is much too common," adds, "I am convinced it is an evil practice"; and then goes on to say, "Our sex have long been noted for their fondness for scandal or, as it is sometimes called, tea-table talk; but I think there might be exceptions. Do let

us, in our progress through life, show to the world two; and while we are securing to ourselves the approbation of others, we shall contribute to our own happiness."

There was a deaf and partially imbecile woman in the Smithfield poorhouse, and once during Elizabeth's girlhood Arnold Buffum came home indignant because the unfortunate creature had been harshly treated. The incident and her father's feeling made a deep impression on the girl, but there is no reason to suppose that her youthful joy was overmuch clouded by the shadow of pauper and friendless misery.

I doubt if she was temperamentally gay and vivacious. Such report as I have received carries an image, wraithlike on its breath, of a girl inclined to be silent among those whom she best loved, and to accept rather passively the changing chances of social comradery. I doubt if she then or ever emotionally loved many persons, but she felt a few deep and abiding affections, whose influence remained with her through the scores of years that she afterwards lived upon this earth.

She and her sister Sarah were very intimate and had much common feeling. The day that Arnold Buffum was forty, the two girls—one sixteen and the other fourteen—cried because their father had become such an old man.

Sometimes Elizabeth visited the Leicester relatives, where those brilliant beings, Eliza and Pliny, illuminated the household life. The girls called the fascinating boy "the Earl of Leicester," and they wrote long, sentimental letters which they sent to each other by private conveyance, to avoid postage.

"My father," wrote Elizabeth in later years, "was a lover of books. His library contained, besides much religious reading, the writings of several British poets, biographies, educational and historical works. These we read over and

over again, especially the poems, which we committed largely to memory and recited in concert. Working or playing, we chanted Montgomery, Pope, Campbell, Cowper, and Dr. Young, whose imagery, even in its gloominess, was powerfully fascinating to my young imagination. Hannah More's 'Cœlebs in Search of a Wife' was the only work of fiction allowed us. Tragedies and comedies we knew not of."

A great change came in reading opportunity before Elizabeth went to the Friends' Boarding School.

George D. Prentice graduated from Brown University in 1823. He was later a well-known verse writer and an influential editor in Kentucky. It was probably after his graduation, but it may have been while he was still a college student, that he taught school in Union Village. Every other Saturday Prentice walked the fourteen intervening miles to Providence, got books from the College Library, brought them back to the village, and distributed them to an eager group of his pupils, who read and passed them around during the next fortnight, till he returned with them to Providence and obtained a new supply. Elizabeth read these books, and among them were some of Scott's novels, then recently issued and not yet acknowledged by their author. Fiction reading was not favored by the Quakers, and the Buffum girls did not say much to their parents about the character of some of the books furnished by Prentice. One day Elizabeth saw her father pick up one of these volumes and begin to peruse it.

She waited the event in great trepidation, lest he should lay down the book and forbid more such reading—perhaps not even allow her to finish that story! The gentle Quaker read silently on while the daughter palpitated, and, as the scene was in the garden, withdrew to a little distance and took counsel with the equally alarmed Sarah as to whether the father would prohibit.

When Arnold Buffum had read for half an hour or more, he laid down the volume, said nothing, and walked away. I suppose he would not give formal consent and was too sensible to forbid.

Prentice fell in love with the most beautiful girl in the region, a Quaker damsel and cousin of Elizabeth's. The girl's parents objected because the lover was not a Quaker, and Prentice left in passion and pain. Elizabeth sympathized with him. He came back once afterwards to attend Otis Bartlett's wedding, and she met him and tried to help him get speech with his lost sweetheart. He was wild just to look upon her once more—poor boy!

It was probably as a direct result of the introduction to literature which George D. Prentice had given them that the Smithfield girls formed a Female Mutual Improvement Society, which held weekly meetings where the members read "compositions" of their own and discussed literary topics.

One un-Quakerish desire arose in Elizabeth's heart. An English actor, the elder Mathews, came to America, and she vainly teased her father to take her to Boston and let her see Mathews play at the Museum. Arnold Buffum would not take her. I think she never thereafter went or perhaps desired to go to "a playhouse" till those of her sons, who were born when she was nearly forty, were old enough to assert some right to choose their recreations, and she decided that if they wanted to go to the theater she would go with them.

Although Elizabeth had no companion brother, she had, during all her girlish life in Smithfield, much comradeship with boy cousins, who were as plentiful in that neighborhood as robins on a lawn in springtime. She wrote once a "composition" which one of these lads, Horace Buffum, took to the *Manufacturers' Journal*. It was published, with a nicely

worded editorial request for more similar contributions, but she did not furnish any.

I am not sure that she received positive offers of marriage other than the one which, while still very young, she accepted; but I think that much of the feeling that is akin to love, and ready with opportunity to become such, surrounded her budding maidenhood. I certainly once heard an elderly man say to Mr. Chace, "You got in ahead of me."

Her sister Sarah had a different experience. Her girlhood was almost destitute of lover-like environment. She remained a spinster until the period of mature womanhood and then older bachelors and widowers flocked to her gates. At last she took an offer into consideration, saying, "If I do make up my mind to marry him, it will be partly to keep every old shack who comes along from proposing to me." She decided not to marry that man even for such laudable purpose.

When Elizabeth was sixteen she stayed some months at the Buffum homestead and took care of her grandmother Lydia until she died. She passed a school year at the Friends' School in Providence, where she was very happy, and where she made the acquaintance of a daughter of Oliver Chace, a Quaker manufacturer in Fall River. Now she heard of Oliver's son Harvey, and she learned that her schoolgirl friend did not want Harvey to marry Hannah Wood, as he afterwards resolutely and manfully did, the said Hannah being a sweet and lovely girl whose beauty passed, more strongly outlined for masculine need, to her sons James and Jonathan Chace.

ELIZABETH TO ARNOLD BUFFUM, IN NEW YORK

"Smithfield, 4th mo., 7th, 1823. It is evening, the night is dark and stormy, and we feel more than ever the vacancy

in the fireside circle. Little William, thoughtless but for the passing moment, is running about the room, entertaining us with innocent prattle; frequently pointing at thy miniature and pronouncing the name of Papa. Mother and my sisters are at work. I am engaged in the delightful employment of writing to an absent and beloved parent. I hope thou wilt not criticise. Adieu."

ELIZABETH TO SARAH G. BUFFUM

"*From the Friends' School, Providence, 12th mo., 9.* Well Sarah, I begin to think that my home is changed even more than I was aware, that you have grown strangely forgetful or strangely indolent. I have received no message from you since you became resident in Fall River.

"*10th.* I suppose thou wilt observe that this was commenced on my birthday. Eighteen years have been rapidly borne away since first 'I came among you'; and in that time I have witnessed many changes, few of them indeed for the better. But still they have generally excited an interest in me, which has tended to keep alive that love of the world which I received in childhood. But one change has not yet been effected; which if it ever is, will prove the highest era in my existence—*a change in my own heart.* I once believed that at the age of eighteen I should be a being of a much higher character than I now am, a being much more worthy of the happiness I now enjoy.

"Mary Beede arrived last monthly meeting day. She is very learned, amiable and agreeable, but far above the rest she is a Christian, and 'A Christian is the highest style of man.'

"I should like to have thee send me a pair of tolerably nice, white, worsted or woollen hose, a silk pocket handkerchief, and anything else that you think I need. Do send those things soon."

CHAPTER SECOND

GIRLHOOD; THE CHACE FAMILY; MARRIAGE TO SAMUEL B.
CHACE; LETTERS; FAMILY LIFE; JOURNALS AND
LETTERS

IN the years immediately after the family moved to Fall River, Elizabeth's occupations were those of the child of the house, but as her father was never wealthy, she did a little work to earn money. Her sisters also sewed, taught or helped in a relative's home. Sarah had a little shop and did millinery, especially, and perhaps solely—that decorous, sanctified millinery, which consisted of making Quaker bonnets.

It never seemed to me that it was morally right to call a Quaker bonnet maker a milliner. Her art partakes, to my imagination, of the nature of church architecture. But ah, how few people, today, know the smallest thing about Quaker bonnets, and how the pearl gray silks and satins must be handled with religious scruple as to cleanly, unmoist fingers, and how deftly must the fabrics be drawn and stitched over the queer, unyielding framework! Who, today, is permeated with full consciousness, such as Sarah Buffum must have felt, of the awful difference between the high plaited crown of the true Quaker bonnet and the giddy, gathered crown on that which the elder women condemned as the “Shun Cross Bonnet”? So, also, few persons know today that, after all, there is not now, and never was a more becoming costume and bonnet for an aged woman than were those Quaker gowns and bonnets—though I confess to a little, unspiritual preference for the reprehensible “Shun

Cross" headgear. I, nevertheless, know that the other was the cap of holiness.

Elizabeth's mother, when she was nearly ninety, used to glide like a vision into an un-Quakerish-looking dining room, herself clad in a straight brown silk gown, with a muslin kerchief white around her throat, and a white filmy cap on her head, the strings tied under her chin, and her face very fair and aged. Thus Colonel Higginson one evening beheld her, and turning instantly whispered, "Lillie, you will wear Quaker dress when you are old, will you not?" I answered, "Yes," but being now old, I have not done it.

Elizabeth taught school in 1826 and had among her pupils her two little brothers.

Arnold Buffum, between 1825 and 1831, made two business trips to Europe, spending several years away from his young family. He hoped and failed to make a fortune abroad, but he knew Amelia Opie in England and Lafayette in Paris, and brought home some educational theory which led to his establishing "infant schools" in Fall River.

In these years, Elizabeth's life culminated towards its womanly destiny. And now I must write a little of Oliver Chace's character and history. He belonged to an old Colonial family, the original colonist, William, having come over with Governor Winthrop and having been a member of John Eliot's Roxbury church before he became a follower of Anne Hutchinson, and therefore had to leave Boston. His descendants were Quakers,—a good, strong, yeoman race, many of whom dwelt in the border districts of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and who trod the earth with heavy, fearless steps and now and then counted in their kindred phalanx a local dignitary whose rank might perhaps serve a feminine descendant as "a claim" to become a modern Colonial Dame. Oliver's father had not been prosperous and the family fortunes were at a low ebb when Oliver became a carpenter,

owning and working in a long, narrow shop. Being sturdy and resolute and (it is to be hoped) in love with Susan Buffington, whose kin were a trifle superior in wealth to his own, Oliver partitioned off an end of his workshop into a one-roomed dwelling apartment, induced Susan to marry him, in 1796, and installed her there. I presume they were romantically happy, though as they had probably never read any romances perhaps they did not know enough to know it; and, it is likely, that, had Oliver been asked about their married state, he would have thought he made adequate answer if he said, "Wal, I guess we're getting on sorter half way comfortable."

The workshop dwelling was near the Swanzea waters, and there Susan abode a short time, till Oliver moved her into a more commodious cottage, where in March, 1800, their son Samuel Buffington was born. About that time also, as the cotton industry was developing, Oliver became a manufacturer. The first mill of which he was part owner stood in his own dooryard. He managed it, and did what was in the circumstances the natural thing to do—he had his elder children go to work in the mill, as the mother doubtless also had them help in the kitchen and at the wood pile. Therefore, his older sons Harvey and Samuel learned thoroughly the business which was to be their lifelong occupation.

Some sixty years after that first Chace mill was built in Oliver's dooryard, Harvey's birthday was celebrated by an outdoor festival given by him to his kinsfolk on the grassy plot before the cottage. Harvey was called upon for a speech. He stood up, tall, smiling and embarrassed looking. "I went," he said, "into the mill when I was nine years old and learned to wind bobbins, but I never learned to make a speech." Having spoken thus he sat down, and all his clan cheered and laughed, contented with his oratorical achievement.

Although in the first decade of the dawning century Oliver Chace put his little children into his mill and the older ones received but scanty education, he was more prosperous when the younger offspring came up to proper age, and they went to school, one daughter, at least, as we have seen, to the Friends' Boarding School in Providence. Afterwards she taught school for a brief season, and she bought a watch and a dainty porcelain teaset with the money she had earned—a fact which goes to prove that Oliver was not over parsimonious with his children. She was a very beautiful girl and longed for some joys forbidden by Quaker rule; so longing, the innocent young reprobate used to get out of her chamber window in the evening, join a waiting group of unforbidden youth, and run away with them to dancing parties, and then come decorously but secretly home again and climb back to her nest. Arnold Buffum's daughter Rebecca knew of these escapades, and scores of years later she reported them; but if Rebecca had shared them, she did not confess that fact to me.

Samuel Chace's education proceeded so far that he understood bookkeeping and wrote an excellent hand. He had some taste for reading, or he thought it his duty to act as though he had, for in early manhood he possessed himself of a few books, such as Cowper's poems. He had a very decided mechanical talent, and later work showed a faculty that could almost be called artistic. He had a natural eye for beautiful lines, especially in architecture, and for soberly proper color, but his English approached the fashion of Yankee dialect.

His social nature was gentle, but he was a strong and energetic man in business and action. Even after he was fifty or more years old he was seen to leap through a mill window, hose in hand, when a fire alarm was given. He did not talk much, but an easy flow of pleasant witticism enlivened his

conversation. Moreover, when Elizabeth Buffum came to live in Fall River, he was one of the handsomest young men upon the planet. He was five feet nine or ten inches tall and well built. He was prematurely bald, but what hair he had was like spun floss and curly. His eyes were gray and his features benignant in expression and perfect in modeling.

He and his older brother Harvey began their long partnership in a cotton manufacturing enterprise with a man named Luther, and the firm managed a mill in Dighton.

Samuel fell in love with Elizabeth and won his desire.

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MR. CHACE

"Esteemed Friend: The contents of thy note of the 27th ult. has been duly considered. When we consent to the marriage of a daughter, we resign her entirely to another on whom she is to depend as her only protector and comforter in health and in sickness.

"But when we have good ground to hope that we are asked to resign a daughter to one who will be sincerely disposed to treat her with all that kindness and affectionate attention so essential to happiness, it becomes our duty to give her up to her own choice.

"With these views, we give our consent to the proposed matrimonial connection betwixt thyself and our beloved daughter Elizabeth, who has been to us an affectionate daughter.

"In behalf of myself and wife."

Samuel Chace was well esteemed in the Quaker community when he and Elizabeth became engaged. A Gould relative of hers described him as "a pillar of the church." He and she drove alone together from Fall River to the Homestead farm in Smithfield, and she presented him to her grandfather. William Buffum approved of him so much that the betrothed

damsel was not wholly happy in the result, for William wanted Samuel to stay and talk with him the very hour that she wanted to show off her lover to some of her young friends at the Union Village. What Samuel wanted to do may be imagined, but he dutifully stayed with the grandfather.

Arnold Buffum made his second visit to Paris about this time and wrote home, desiring information beforehand when his daughter was to be married, so he might get a few friends together and celebrate the day afar off.

Elizabeth's wedding preparations were probably modest, but she had a white silk gown, although, alas, she desired a little decoration upon it which she did not have, either because it was too expensive or too un-Quakerish.

She was married in the June following the birthday on which she became twenty-one. She had always worn her hair in long ringlets, but soon after she was married she began to coil it at the back of her head, because she heard that Oliver Chace said he "didn't see why Elizabeth shouldn't put her hair up" like other Quaker dames. I do not know at quite what period she donned the Quaker cap, but probably before many years of her married life had passed.

Once when Mr. Chace had become old, his children asked him which of Arnold Buffum's daughters was the prettiest. "I think your mother was," he answered, as though it had never before occurred to him to make such comparison; then he reflected, smiled brightly, and added: "Why of course she was. They were all there, no one of them married. I could have had any one. I took my choice. Of course I took the prettiest."

Her hair was dark and unusually abundant. Her features possessed no remarkable characteristic, either of beauty or homeliness, but her complexion was fine throughout her whole life. She was not blonde, but her skin was a little fairer than brunette, and its color was very clear. It was never either

sallow or overflushed. Her eyes were brown, and in the portraits of her in middle age they have a peculiar look of quiet sadness. In later time, this expression passed, and one of placid steadiness took its place. She certainly was not a beautiful woman in middle life, but when she was old there did come into her aspect that aged beauty which is both of the flesh and the spirit.

The following letter was written about three months after her marriage and when she appears to have been in charge of some invalid also named Elizabeth, in whom she and Sammel both had interest. This was probably his sister, the beautiful girl who bought china and fled surreptitiously to village dances and who died in her gay, rebellious youth. The two girls were in Providence together, and it is interesting to note that the invalid was under the medical care of a doctress. They were staying with Joseph and Mary (Gould) Anthony, uncle and aunt of Elizabeth Buffum Chace.

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

"After having spent a lonely evening in the parlour, with uncle Joseph reading and aunt Mary sleeping in her easy chair, I have retired to my chamber—where Elizabeth, an hour or two since, consigned herself to sleep—to communicate to thee, my dearest friend, the events which have occupied my attention and the feelings they have produced since we separated. My feelings were rather dismal for a while after thy departure, but as it seemed likely that we should soon meet again, I endeavored to appear not less cheerful than usual.

"Fourth day I attended the monthly meeting. The young people whom thou heard spoken of spread before the meeting a concern which attended their minds to make a journey into the land of matrimony.

"In the men's meeting the subject of X's acknowledgment

was again warmly discussed, and again referred. Oh 'tell it not in Gath; publish it not in Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,' that such a graceless libertine as he is represented to be, by many respectable people, should be kept in society to which he must be a disgrace.

"Yesterday I received an invitation from the Superintendent and Teachers of the Boarding School to spend the afternoon with them, as they were going to have a little party, consisting of the soon-to-be married ladies and some others; but I did not like to go away up there alone, and so I did not go. By the way, there is an invitation for thee in the note.

"Second day. P.M. A few minutes since I was very agreeably surprised by the receipt of a letter from thee. I was quite overjoyed, and as soon as I could finish my dinner I have run up here to tell thee of it. It is indeed true that we are insensible of the depth and strength of our attachment to our dearest friends, while we are constantly blest with their society. But when we are separated from them, we deeply feel the void that absence occasions in our hearts, and become truly sensible of the warmth and devotion of our affection. So hath it been with me during our present separation. And thus may it ever be with us, my beloved friend.

"Yesterday could not have been a more lonely day at Fall River than I found it to be here. It was a day on which we have been wont to go together to offer our devotions to Him who created us. It was a day on which we have been long accustomed to spend much of the time 'with one accord in one place.' It is not strange then, that on its return we should feel more acutely that we are divided. But on these occasions our feelings must all be concealed, for it is customary even for those who have experienced them to laugh them to scorn.

"This matter of housekeeping—I acknowledge I feel desirous to commence; yet I expect to find myself deficient in many of the necessary qualifications. I sometimes feel almost discouraged when I think of the much I have yet to learn. But discouragement never yet overpowered me; and I am in hopes that a little experience will teach me to do tolerably well. So I hope that the habitation will soon be ready for our accommodation.

"I am glad thou art reading Amelia Opie. It will amuse if not instruct thee. I want to read her last work, 'Detraction Displayed.'

"I thank thee for thy compliment about natural talkers and writers.

"3rd Day evening. Elizabeth had a very restless night. This morning she complained of headache. I went down for her physician. The woman came up immediately and brought her some balm for tea, and some nitre to drive away the fever. At any rate, she said she would assure us it could not hurt her. This evening the woman has brought her a warm bath composed of steeped herbs—I suppose—[and] had her feet put in warm water; and she [Elizabeth] has gone to bed pretty comfortable.

"If thou dost not come over to see us, do write to me again, for I am very lonesome and thy letter did me a great deal of good."

Samuel and Elizabeth Chace began housekeeping in a few rooms, and for three months she did her own work without assistance, the only period in her life that she ever did. Then her fourteen-year-old sister came to help her, and in due season maid servants, one or more at a time, became members of the household.

Of these early weeks, she told her daughter forty years afterwards: "Your father helped me a great deal. He was

very kind and thoughtful." I think she said he insisted on washing the floor for her. However, she always claimed that she knew how to do every kind of house and laundry labor, except "to iron a starched shirt," which she never learned to do, because her husband never wore one. To the end of his seventy years he continued to wear a soft-bosomed shirt and muslin handkerchief cravat which covered the open space left by his high-cut Quaker waistcoat.

Ellen Barker, a fifteen-year-old second cousin, was very fond of Elizabeth, whom she also considered "the prettiest" of the Buffum sisterhood. She visited Elizabeth, and reported sixty years later, in this fashion: "Samuel was very handsome. Elizabeth kept her housekeeping money in a table drawer. I used to see him go there and put more money in, without her asking for it, and I hoped that if ever I had a husband he would do like that."

My own opinion is, that in just the quality which would be called sweetness of nature, the Chaces were a little more fully endowed than the Buffums, but whether or not there was sweetness in the Chace blood, there was a strong and healthy flavor in it.

Mr. Chace's cousin Lamira never married. A good-tempered, hard-working, well-featured woman of the peasant type, she acknowledged no regret for her spinsterhood, but she felt some feminine timidity, and admitted her occasional desire for masculine protection. She stated her emotional case clearly, saying, "Ef it warn't for dogs and dark nights, I shouldn't keer if I never seed a man again in this world."

Lamira's brother, however, read and freely quoted Shakespeare as he walked up and down the sitting room in the Oliver Chace farmhouse.

The subject of this memoir was probably called Elizabeth Chace for thirty years or more after her marriage, and her husband was in common speech Samuel, or Sam, or

even Uncle Sam, so long as he lived; but for convenience in narration they will henceforth be written of here as Mr. and Mrs. Chace.

During the 1830 decade, Arnold Buffum was engaged part of the time in business and part as lecturing agent for the New England Anti-Slavery Society. He was the first president of that society and also the first agent whom it sent out to begin the long Abolition propaganda. He was, moreover, actively employed in temperance work. He, however, established himself in Philadelphia and carried on the manufacture and importation of hats, which he sold both at retail and wholesale, and busied himself trying to invent a rotary steam engine, concerning which he corresponded with his son-in-law, Mr. Chace.

Arnold Buffum was very poor when he began business in Philadelphia, and did not have his family with him. He slept in his shop, cared for himself, and lived on an expenditure of seventy-five cents a week! He, however, got his home started. His wife and his two sons joined him. The boys assisted in the shop, or the truer statement may be that he tried to get them to assist, there being some evidence that those youngsters were more inclined to play than to work.

Mrs. Chace had been married nearly two years when her first child, George Arnold, was born. From that time until the anti-slavery cause largely absorbed her interest, and long afterwards, except as that cause incited her thought and action, her history is indeed of historical value because it affords an excellent character study, but it is the personal history of a young wife, housekeeper and mother, who moved in a narrow social groove; who felt intensely within narrow limits; who was a little more aspiring and intellectual than many of her comrades, and yet was a woman who lacked and did not obtain just the culture which would have enabled her

to work out always the wisest theories of life. Hers is also the story in these years of a village-bred woman, whose shy and slightly exclusive nature was still acting in the constraining and confining channels of a peculiar religion. The stream of righteousness flowed deep in Quakerism, but it did not flow wide. When in any individual it began to be a broad current, it overflowed the banks of Quakerism.

It seems to me, who knew very thoroughly her later personality, that her character development was not quite what her shy, passively accepting maidenhood promised. She grew strong, yet she remained or became strangely weak also, sometimes with most lovable weakness, but sometimes where it would have been better had she been strong. She grew liberal, yet she remained narrow. How could she keep from being narrow? Quakerism and New England Puritanism both taught narrowness as a duty. The Gospel breath of anti-slavery lifted her out of those schools—but they avenged themselves. New England ostracized the Abolitionist, and the reformer had a limited social experience in consequence of that ostracism. The result in her case was almost inevitable; to the end of her life Mrs. Chace never became quite fully aware that people, who differed from her in opinion, could be desirable acquaintances, if the difference was one that brought opposition to her principles of reform. Yet, on the other hand, she was often beautifully tolerant of “reformers” who went beyond her in opinion, or moved in erratic manner to ends that she considered undesirable. She still thought they were “trying to make the world better,” and she forgave them the error of their effort for the sake of what she believed to be the virtue of their desire. But the ordinary world of people, who rear their children, and follow artistic, literary, charitable, festive or religious pursuits in the customary pathways—no, Mrs. Chace never quite justly appreciated that world. Its

purposes did not seem ethically large to her, and she sometimes thought those purposes smaller than they were. Of course, there were always individuals in that world whom she saw and rated otherwise, but her early life did not bring her into contact with many such individuals; and, by the time I knew her, she had not much desire to broaden her experience by coming into contact with them. Yet I am sure that she had within her always the capacity for a large and gracious socially humanitarian development, had not something also in her nature, and more in environment and influence, stunted that development.

She did not readily understand people, she did not readily conceive of character probabilities and improbabilities as to conduct. She easily took strong and hostile prejudices against people, and she acted hastily, resolutely and sometimes disastrously, in consequence of a prejudice which she had supposed to be a moral conviction. But when persuaded of her mistake, she dropped the prejudice as readily as she had taken it, and atoned in a nobly natural manner.

She had great moral courage, but physically she was a coward, and personally and socially she was not only delicately shy, she was timid to an unfortunate degree. So all her life there were elements within her nature which made contradictory manifestation and modified each other.

Her domestic situation was admirably adapted to develop much that was finest and greatest in her, but it did not afford a check to the growth of some other quality, and she never possessed that self-consciousness which would have enabled her to see what tendency should be checked in herself. That peculiar self-consciousness was lacking in her original endowment. She had not enough of it to know that she had it not in full measure. She thought that she directed her moral and mental development. Of course she did—a little; but she mainly let it grow.

Her husband was a mighty man in his sphere of outer life; but although he naturally managed the finances of the establishment, did the marketing, paid the bills, and sometimes said he could not afford to buy something, he still yielded to her the superior station inside the home, and yielded it to her not even as to a partner, but rather as to the sovereign of the realm. Quietly sure of his rule in the factory, the strong, silent man never seemed to think of coördinate sovereignty in the house, the social circle, or with the children. It chanced, moreover, that except for him Mrs. Chace's household, during forty years after her son George was born, consisted only of persons hired to do her will, or of young children properly subject to her command. She grew to be a dominant, though intensely feminine, monarch.

She took her motherhood conscientiously, and her personal joy was in her children, though she was a brooding and solicitous rather than a caressing mother. Perhaps she was different as to that in her younger life, but I remember her as personally demonstrative only to her very youngest son, the ninth of her ten children; and yet, I am certain that an older one was really her best beloved child while his brief, beautiful life lasted.

George Arnold, her first child, was a genial-natured boy who died before he was quite nine years old. To his mother came the extreme agonies of human experience, while she was herself still at an age when many women are merely girls grown a little too old to dance with college boys. Adelia Bartlett, the next in order of birth, died six months after George did. The mother remembered her as a blonde, womanly little creature. Susan, born in 1834, the third in order of birth, was the first to die. Mrs. Chace having been the mother of four children, for a time had only one, John Gould, who lived for five charming years and, dying,

left an only brother, the baby Oliver, whose death made Mrs. Chace childless.

After that came the late blossoms of her womanly existence: Samuel Oliver (the special child of her heart), born in 1843; Arnold Buffum, born in 1845; Elizabeth (Lillie) Buffum, born 1847; Edward Gould in 1849, and Mary in 1852.

Mrs. Chace had a long and dangerous illness in 1834.

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MR. CHACE

"*Philadelphia, 2nd mo., 31, 1834.* Thine of the 26th came to hand this morning and brought with it a solemn gloom. I consulted thy mother about going immediately, as proposed by thee. She seemed anxious to go; but the very unfavorable season of the year for such a journey, the circumstance that she has not been accustomed to travel alone, the impossibility of my leaving my business to accompany her, the great exposure she must necessarily endure in the journey to the imminent hazard of her own health, and the apparent uncertainty of her being able to arrive in season to again see her beloved daughter, induced me to discourage her going.

"We doubt not but everything is done which kindness and skill can do for her. Whether life or death be her portion, I trust she is prepared for either; and though to us all her departure would seem a severe loss, yet we should remember that He who kindly gave her to us, best knows the proper time to take back that which He has lent."

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. ARNOLD BUFFUM

"*3rd mo., 17.* I have been very sick, my dear mother. Everything that could alleviate my sufferings or add to my comfort has been ministered unto me. My beloved husband

has spent much of his time in giving me his personal attention, and much money to render me comfortable. My utmost exertions will be insufficient to repay him for his unceasing kindness."

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

"*Phila.*, 5th mo., 4, 1836. Second day morning, Rebecca having left her school with Mary Grew, we went to the navy yard, where is a ship which has been twelve years in building and will require about two years more of constant labor. It is the largest ever built in the United States.

"We then visited the glass works. I thought how George would like to see the melted glass blown and worked into shape. Thence we proceeded to the widows' asylum. It is a large, neat building and contains sixty-two aged widows. They occupy airy chambers, have nice beds, nice bureaus and other furniture, and all carpeted. On the same square is the Orphan Asylum. Has a large schoolroom and nice, large lodging rooms and an extensive and beautiful playground."

Mrs. Chace continues with short accounts of visits to the Hospital for the Blind and the Shot Tower, after which she tells of a visit to the Penitentiary:

"This is built, I believe, of stone, with a round building in the center, from which extend in all directions eight long buildings or wings, lighted from the top and having an open passage running through the center from the central building, on each side of which are the prisoners' cells. The whole is then enclosed by a high wall. The prisoners are kept in solitary confinement; all who are able to work are allowed the privilege. There are now, I believe, over three hundred, many of whom are females and some quite young girls. No boys except colored boys, white boys being

sent to the House of Refuge. We entered an empty cell. It contained a low, narrow bedstead of boards, turned up in one corner, a shoemaking bench, a hydrant and two pipes running through for warming the room, which is done by boiling water. The cells communicate by a back door with a small yard, in which the prisoners are allowed to walk for an hour. There is a Bible in each cell and they are allowed to read religious books and to write letters to and receive them from their friends, subject to inspection."

The letter gives an account of some preparations for an anti-slavery fair, and then continues:

"Tell Asenath and mother Chace that I do not find any dark calico that looks any better than we can get at Fall River, so I think I shall not get any. Have got hair for A. and butter knives. Oh! I do want to see the dear children. Kiss them all for me and tell them I shall bring them something if they are good. Have bought dining china and *paid for it too.*"

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. CHACE'S JOURNAL

"When George was two years old we had a black woman to clean house who brought with her a baby about eleven months old. The first time he saw her I asked him what it was. He replied, 'Little dog.' I said she was a little girl. He looked at her with some surprise and then exclaimed very tenderly, 'Pippy, pippy' (pretty). When he was carried into the bedroom he wanted to 'kiss little girl,' and I told him he might go and bid her farewell, feeling myself something of a repugnance to a nearer salutation; but he was not satisfied until he was permitted to kiss her."

* * * *

"I was told one day that George had said something to

a colored girl which was very uncivil. I asked him what he had said the day before that was very naughty. He studied a while and then told of something as uncivil that he had said to another person. He afterward recollected the other. I then told him that he must stay in my room all the time out of school the next day and think how naughty the first was, and all of the succeeding day and think of the last. He did not murmur, for he felt that it was just; but after a few minutes he said, 'Mother, I can think of what I said to Charlotte in the morning and what I said to Esther in the afternoon.' (Thinking that one day would suffice.)"

* * * *

"*2nd mo., 7, 1836.* First day evening. The dear children have all gone quietly and happily to bed. As usual, several chapters were read in the Bible and George answered questions asked from them very readily. I requested Adelia at the commencement of each chapter to remember a word and she did, such as 'baptize,' 'Jesus,' 'sinners,' etc., and she wanted to answer some questions like her brother, and so I helped her and she repeated several after me and was very happy."

* * * *

"I felt sorry to hear him [George] tell what he knew to be false, and I told him that children who told wrong stories and continued to do so could not go and live with God when they die, but must live with the wicked one. He looked surprised at first, and then put on a look of affected indifference and replied, 'I don't care for that.' I was shocked and grieved exceedingly and looked steadily upon him. He tried to look unconcerned, but he averted his eyes from the look he met in mine. He showed that he was distressed but was not humble enough to confess it. I felt the need of help. I felt that punishment would be ill-timed and would fall far

short of reaching the case. I sought, I humbly trust, where only help is found. Adelia saw my distress and crept quietly and gently to my side and put her face to mine. I was touched by the sympathy of my dear daughter and said (perhaps injudiciously) that I was very glad she came to comfort me. George could hold out no longer. He came with great earnestness and said, 'I will be a good boy, too.' He said he was sorry and he really appeared so. Again we were a happy family. After a few minutes Adelia said, 'I am the little girl that comforted mother when she felt bad,' and I saw that I had been erring in praising in her what should have been left alone to take its natural course."

* * * *

"After her [Susan's] illness [scarlet fever], when sitting on my lap or laying her head in it, she seemed perfectly happy, and one of these was usually her remedy for any trouble which crossed her path."

* * * *

"While she went to school, [held in the house] in the winter, she used generally two or three times a day to ask leave to come out to 'see muvver,' and coming deliberately into the room she would say, 'Want lay head,' and come and lay her head in my lap and suck her finger a few minutes, and then walk back into school as deliberately as before. At the table her conduct was exemplary. For some weeks before she had the scarlet fever, when her father took up the Bible to read at the breakfast table, she would lay down her knife, generally without being spoken to, and fold her hands; though she did not always keep them so until he had finished, and this I did not expect at her age."

* * * *

"First day morning, with her bonnet and cloak on, she sat in the kitchen doorway and laughed and played with

her sister and brother, who were usually quite willing to stay with her and wait upon her helplessness [she had been unable to walk since her illness], and she crept up and down the steps and was very joyous. I had intended to take her to meeting as soon as she was well enough, and it had been talked about in her presence. She was very much pleased, frequently saying, 'I will sit still.' That morning, the last first-day she was with us, she was sitting on the carpet and said, imploringly, 'I want do meeting.' I told her she should go as soon as she could walk. She replied, 'Farver tan tarry me.' "

* * * *

"I have omitted to say that she felt a sympathy for the poor slave without, it is true, being able to understand his condition, knowing only that he was poor and suffering. When permitted to look at the articles belonging to the Sewing Society she would say of the kneeling representation, 'Poor save, muvver, poor save'; and I believe it was the day before her sickness, when I was dressing her in the morning, her sister asked me why I called Amos Dresser, who was then here, 'brother Dresser.' I replied, 'Because he is an Abolitionist and so am I.' Susan answered also, 'So I.' "

OF SUSAN

"I used to hear her, almost whenever I left the room, calling out 'Mother come, mother come;' and she used to say, when I had been away and returned, 'I dad movo' tum.' I now anticipate the day, whether near or distant, when she will again be glad that 'Mother has come.' "

The Halversens were a Norwegian family, with the members of which Mrs. Chace maintained friendly relations for some fifty years.

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. ARNOLD BUFFUM

"10th mo., 1st, 1837. A week ago, intelligence came that Canute Halversen with his numerous family had arrived in a brig at Boston.

"Only think of the law that requires that foreigners should pay \$2.00 a head for landing on our shores! Our forefathers came to this country and took it by force from its rightful possessors. We decree that no person shall set his foot thereon, with intent to remain, without paying us for the privilege. As if North America was not wide and long enough for all who may choose to live in it! If any can be better off here than at home, why may they not come?

"I went to meeting today for the first time [after a long illness]. It really seemed very pleasant—but oh! the recollection of that day when we sat before our little Susan's coffin. Oh! mother! what shall I do? Her loss is so present with me.

"Lydia would write by this opportunity, but she has writing to do for the A[nti-] S[lavery] Society which must be done. Did thee carry thy rose to Philadelphia?"

FROM MRS. CHACE'S JOURNAL

"4-mo.-9-1837. During my protracted illness two years ago my mind was brought into closer communion with my God than I had ever before enjoyed, until so perfect became my submission to His will that I gave up all into His holy keeping, even my dear husband and children, if it was His pleasure to remove me, firmly believing that if He pleased to take me He would himself supply all they would thereby lose, so that even the dear lambs committed to our care would not suffer by my removal."

"6-mo.-17-1837. Prevented by the state of my health from attending meetings with my dear friends, I esteem it

a great privilege to sit down at home to commune with my own heart and be still, and hold sweet communion with Him whom I trust my soul loveth. The time is rapidly approaching when I may be suddenly called from works to rewards, and oh! when I think how little I have done to advance the glory of God I tremble to think of it. Oh! were it not for my hope and belief in the atoning sacrifice of my blessed Redeemer I should have no anchor to rest upon. My own merits I feel would go but little way."

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

"*Fall River, 12 mo., 31, 1837.* I was disappointed that thou concluded not to come home yesterday. The overseer in the spinning room (Boodry) has had a scrape with one of the spooler tenders (Abby King) and has put her out of the factory twice by the strong arm of physical force, and she, to be revenged, has taken the strong arm of the law and they are waiting for thee to come home to help them manage it. I believe he is not fit to be clothed with authority, and I think if he was a hireling of mine I should divest him of it very speedily.

"Oh! what a storm they have had at Washington. And J. Q. Adams, what an uncompromising defender of the right. The slaveholders only want Boodry's authority to use it upon Adams as he did upon the spooler tender."

The following paragraph and verses are taken from Mrs. Chace's manuscripts:

"'Mother,' said George, on the day of his last visit to the sitting room, 'when thy Calla blooms, I shall want to see it.' In three days, while the bud was yet green, his eyes were closed in death.

“The opening flower, thou wished to see,
Is bright and blooming now;
Its hue is delicate and fair,
But where, oh! where art thou?

“I listen for those gentle tones
So soft, so dear to me,
‘My mother, when thy Calla blooms,
I wish the flower to see.’

“For when its bud was fresh and green,
Thy cheerful voice was heard,
In sweetest accents pouring forth
Each kind and tender word.

“One morning when the sun was bright,
And all around was fair,
Once more, the sunlight to behold,
Thou came with languid air.

“And, seated at the window here,
Upon thy pillowed chair,
Thou gave one last, one lingering look
Upon the dooryard, where

“Thy feet, in merry gambols, oft
Had sported in high glee;
Thy joyous shout had rent the air
So fearlessly and free,

“Upon the garden, where the flowers
Thy boundless love had shared,
And where the worm, beneath thy feet,
And grasshopper were spared.

“But three days more, and human skill
Had done its all for thee;
But three days more, and cherished hopes
Were crushed most bitterly.”

OBITUARY NOTICE IN THE “LIBERATOR” OF MARCH 8, 1839

“In Fall River, on Monday morning the 25 ult., after lingering illness which he bore with patience, fortitude and sweetness of temper, George Arnold Chace, in the 9th year of his age, son of Samuel and Elizabeth B. Chace.

“Although young in years, he was the devoted friend of the slave, and gave early promise of being one of the firmest advocates of the rights of the oppressed.

“His mind was developed much beyond his years, but, as is often the case with such children, his body had been delicate from infancy.”

CHAPTER THIRD

ANTI-SLAVERY WORK, 1832-1839

THE object of this and some other chapters is to suggest the vast amount of obscure work performed by the rank and file in the Garrisonian body of Abolitionists before 1865, and by that remnant which continued to labor through several succeeding years under the leadership of Wendell Phillips.

It seems that this purpose can be best accomplished by giving here much correspondence that has little or no interest except as it may help to give an impression of tireless effort. To produce that impression I have not hesitated to use material, the reading of which may be tedious. The work itself must have been tedious, and much record of it has been omitted.

Treble all that is here told or suggested and some idea may be obtained of the work that Mrs. Chace did for the anti-slavery cause.

Multiply that by thousands and some conception may be formed of what all the other Abolitionists were doing, during more than thirty years.

The New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized by twelve men on the 6th of January, 1832. The constitution of the Society was first published in the *Liberator* of February 18, 1832, together with a list of its officers, William Lloyd Garrison being corresponding secretary and Arnold Buffum, president.

The latter's daughter Rebecca taught school in Uxbridge,



Winsell Phillips

whence, in August, 1833, she wrote to Mrs. Chace telling her about a colored girl whom she calls merely "Susan." Her references to Susan's story make it evident that hers was one of those cases which Southern slaveholders considered as involving them in great hardship, and affording especial justification for their later effort to break away from the Union. They could not quite comfortably take their slaves with them on journeys North, because the slaves sometimes decided that they preferred their owners should suffer the hardship of losing servants to suffering themselves the hardships of slavery.

Here is Rebecca's report of Susan's story: Susan is in Uxbridge and there has been a plan for her to go to Fall River, but apparently there was some difficulty about Mrs. Chace's taking her into the family.

"She was very ready," writes Rebecca, "to live with thee, but when she found thou did not want her, she thought she should prefer Worcester, where she has friends among the colored people. A Mrs. Hill wants her; but it is hardly safe for her to go there.

"The poor child's mind has been like a tempest-tossed vessel. She had been 'reared,' she said, in the house, and could not work hard. It appears she was a great favorite with her mistress, who treated her kindly and kept her for her waiting maid. Susan says she would never leave her. She traveled with her—has been several times to Philadelphia—was acquainted with the families Father visited. She was repeatedly offered freedom while there, but would not leave her mistress; but when her mistress died, Susan became the property of her nephew, who let her out to others. The family with whom she came to Worcester hired her as they would a horse, and treated her very unkindly. This made her wish to be free, but she did not know if it would be best to accept freedom, for she could not be sure of a comfortable

living. She says she asked God to direct her, although she hardly knew how to pray, and it seemed to her the Almighty intended she should be free.

"She is a good girl; whatever she does, she does well. 'She seemed to think, or feel rather—for she knew it was not so—that if she went to Harvey's she should be bound there for life. I told her this morning I should not urge her in the least; I knew it would be a good home for her, but she must now act for herself. She appeared considerably affected and said she wished she knew what was best. She repeated to herself, 'If I do not like to stay I can go away,' as if she would learn it.

"She supposes her age to be about twenty-eight. The principal reason she prefers Worcester is that the colored people told her she should learn to read. This is her heart's desire. She said this morning, 'Do you think, Miss Rebecca, I could learn to read in Fall River?' I told her I did not doubt it. 'Then I will go,' said she. She is an interesting girl, and I want thee to be interested in her."

In a postscript Rebecca adds: "Susan has concluded not to go to Fall River. I found the only reason she was willing to go was because she thought I wished it. As I had been her teacher and she had been here, she felt under obligation to me; but she shall not go anywhere to please me. I love her, and will do anything I can for her, but she is free."

In this letter, Rebecca also says: "We had a delightful visit from dear Father. He came seventh day, [and] addressed a large and attentive audience, first day, on Slavery. The ministers both came to see him. He was happy and so was I; yes, just as happy as I could be.

"My school closes today. I shall write to Father [that] I am ready to go to Philadelphia. 'Tis my wish now to take a colored infant school. I believe I can do more good in that way than in any other."

Rebecca was twenty-three years old when she wrote that letter. We commend it as giving a touchingly beautiful picture of the high-hearted white maiden, throbbing with tender sympathy, beside the timid, conscientious, dusky girl who had so lately been a piece of property, longing to become a human being. Could anything be lovelier than Susan's grateful desire to please Rebecca, except Rebecca's simple "I love her" written of the slave girl, who had to repeat to herself a formula to assure her anxious heart that she could go or stay as seemed best to herself? Yet, she was "not quite safe." The legal situation was not then settled, and the Boston Curtises were ready with every legal weapon they could invent to prove that any and every Susan so brought to Massachusetts might be carted southward again, either as a piece of luggage in the wagon or as beast of burden harnessed "like a horse" in the traces.

A great deal has been said about the moral courage of the early Abolitionists. It would be difficult to overestimate it; yet in preparing this account of humble, detail work I have been especially impressed by the intellectual courage to which this narrative bears witness. It was mental as well as moral boldness for obscure Fall River women in the thirties to think that they could do anything to change the national policy in regard to slavery.

The pioneer Abolitionists were hardy thinkers—deep thinkers too, profoundly understanding cause and effect in human movement. They were also skillful workers of a new method. They showed what might be called mechanical ability as to propaganda, both seizing and creating opportunity and instrumentality to get their facts and ideas where the public must notice them. They were not harebrained hunters following flitting phantoms over devious paths in the regions of effort. They were steadfast sowers of seed in every corner of the national pastures, all the while that they

plowed and furrowed and planted its wide open domains. The teeth of the dragon that they sowed arose in due time from the soil, a phalanx of embodied conviction which bore reluctant Presidents, Generals, and Congressmen on past Gettysburg to the ballot box, wherein the nation placed its vote for the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution.

The Anti-Slavery work before the Southern rebellion was not done merely in Faneuil Hall or before the Boston Court House when it was surrounded by chains. It was also done in cottages and schoolhouses where, during thirty preceding years, earnest men and women had met "two or three gathered together." The hearts of unknown Northern mothers had assured the triumph of freedom long years before the "stainless soldier stood" and fell attacking the fortress where Slavery defended its monstrous existence.

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. ARNOLD BUFFUM

"*Fall River, 5th mo., 20th, 1835.* Lydia [Buffum] has a nice school of 21 scholars and expects more. Among them are three colored children: Harriet, and a little girl and boy part Indian and part negro, cunning looking enough. Sarah expects to go to Boston to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention. Our Society sends five delegates, viz., A. Bronson, N. B. Borden, representative to Congress, Azariah Shove, Abm Bowen and E. W. Pratt."

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD BUFFUM

"*5th mo., 22, 1835.* I suppose you have learned by the *Liberator* that we have had the company and labors of S. J. May in this place in the great and good cause in which thou art so heartily engaged. He gave four public lectures, and one to the Friends at this house. He stood in the door-

way between our two rooms and talked well for more than an hour. All seemed satisfied. He was just the right man. Oh! it is strange that so many who are really convinced do so hold back. There has been a new Lyceum formed upon more liberal principles than the former, in which has been lately discussed the question, 'Is slavery in the Southern states a subject in which the citizens of the non-slaveholding states ought to take part?' framed by Dr. Simon Clough so as to exclude discussion concerning the District of Columbia and the territories. But the friends of the black man went over the whole ground. They continued the discussion for three evenings, the right side supported by N. B. Borden, Dr. Hooper, L. Lapham, schoolmaster, Dr. Sisson and Richard French, and opposed by Dr. Clough, Joseph Gooding, Esq., and Dr. P. W. Leland, customs house officer. The question, however, was decided right by vote. Asa Bronson says that he tried for a long time, but he could find no rest for the sole of his foot short of immediate emancipation. The Lovell family are warm in the cause."

An undated fragment of a letter remains which Lydia Buffum wrote, probably from Philadelphia, and certainly in this decade to Mrs. Chace in Fall River. It contains suggestions that she and Sarah Buffum should get up a petition against "Patton's resolution," the famous "gag rule" forbidding even the reading of anti-slavery petitions in Congress. This letter also discusses matters concerning anti-slavery fairs in which the sisters coöperated. It also mentions as follows somebody named Coffin, but the name is not plainly enough written to make it certain that it means Levi Coffin, the great "Slave Rescuer."

"Last first-day ——— Coffin went on to New York to carry a couple of runaway slaves; a man who escaped all the way

from [name illegible, probably Alabama], fording rivers, sleeping in the day, and traveling by night, until he reached the long looked for haven. But even here he cannot rest; he must go on or he is again enslaved. He is said to be an extraordinary man in mind and body. The Abolitionists intend to have his portrait taken and his history written with the real name of his master and himself and to send him to England.

“The other is a woman who ran away from her master about a year ago, but was taken by him. She then remained in Delaware whence she has run away again. — expects to take her on to Marcus. Father is with him. Here are two incontrovertible evidences that the slaves love to be free.”

The first steps toward forming the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Fall River were taken on July 4, 1835.

The preamble to the constitution of this society is written largely in the religious phraseology common in that day. It contains, however, the following passage, which is significant in view of later political discussion:

“We believe that Slavery in this country is a sin of no ordinary magnitude, that it is national and not a sectional sin, and that every individual is guilty who has not done something to purify our national escutcheon from this foul blot.”

The Article of the Constitution most worthy of present consideration is this:

“Art. Third. The object of this Society is to procure for the enslaved, immediate and entire emancipation from Slavery—for the free, relief from the oppression of public sentiment, and the elevation of both to the enjoyment of civil, intellectual, and religious rights and privileges equal with ourselves—and this Society will endeavor to accom-

plish these objects by the use of such means as are naturally adapted to overcome those wicked prejudices which so effectually exclude coloured persons from the sympathy of the American People. They will disseminate *light* to reprove the 'Oppressor at the South and North, but they will *never* countenance the oppressed in resorting to physical force in defence of their rights.' ”

The records of this society show that Mrs. Chace's sisters Sarah and Lydia were prominent members from the first and that early meetings were devoted mainly to reading and discussing literature about slavery.

There is no record to show just when Mrs. Chace joined the Society. In March, 1836, two meetings of women were held at her house, to consider the advisability of forming an Anti-Slavery organization. At the first of these meetings, Mrs. Chace, from the chair, offered the following resolutions:

“In view of the suffering of our coloured brethren and sisters at the South, unjustly held in slavery, and in the North, subjected to a prejudice almost equally oppressive;

“*Resolved*: That it is our duty to do unto them all things whatsoever we would that they should do unto us were we in their situation and they in ours.

“*Resolved*: That we can best promote the good of their cause by united effort.

“Therefore *resolved*: That we will form a society for the purpose of assisting in the work of the abolition of Slavery by all moral, peaceful and lawful means, and we will perseveringly plead with our voices and labor with our hands for the promotion of the cause until slavery is abolished in our land, while we have the power to do so.”

These resolutions were unanimously adopted and a constitution presented for consideration, but a suggestion was made that no action be taken until conference be had with

the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. Apparently in consequence of such discussion, this effort was fused in that of the already existing society.

In June, 1836, Mrs. Chace was elected Vice-President of the Society, the record of her election being the first time her name appears in the minutes of the meetings. On July 25 she presided at a regular meeting held at the Washington Schoolhouse. From this time on, she frequently occupied the chair and became increasingly active. A regular meeting of the board of managers of the society was held at the house of Samuel B. Chace on August 5, 1836, and at this meeting it was voted to send thirty dollars to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

At this time the women of the society were evidently trying to think what effective work they could do and were advancing from action to action as ideas occurred.

Methods of agitation were not then very much developed, but in the months of September and October committees were appointed by the society to secure signatures to a woman's petition to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; to prepare an address to the women of Fall River on the subject of slavery, and to consider what might be done for the colored people in the village.

Mrs. Chace was a member of each of these committees, and her name and that of her sister Sarah head the list of those who reported the work of the petition committee. This report shows that the work was done most systematically. A house to house canvass was made; six hundred and thirty names were obtained and a copy of the society's Anti-Slavery Address was left in nearly every home in Fall River.

In commenting upon the work the report says:

"We have considered the presentation of the Petition to

Congress as but one of the benefits resulting from its circulation. It has aroused the attention of many who had never thought and some who had never known much of the situation of those for whom we plead."

It was doubtless at this time that Mrs. Chace formed the opinion which she held strongly in later life, that the circulation of petitions was one of the most effective methods in reform work.

At the annual meeting of the society held July 4, 1837, Mrs. Chace was chosen president, and, for some reason incomprehensible to the modern mind, the name of the society was changed from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society to the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Fall River.

In November, Mrs. Chace was the head of a committee chosen to arrange for lectures by the Grimké sisters, and a few months later she suggested to the society the formation of an Anti-Slavery Circulating Library and was active in its establishment. She was appointed a delegate to the Female Anti-Slavery Convention held in Philadelphia in May, 1838. She also served on two publication committees and was librarian for three months.

Mrs. Chace was one of a committee to prepare the annual report of the society. The records show that she herself wrote a report which after being discussed in several meetings was rejected. No reason for this is given, but it is natural to suppose that it was in some way due to dissensions which were then agitating all the anti-slavery body, there being some evidence in the records that the Fall River Society was beginning to feel the effect of those dissensions.

At the annual meeting of the society in 1839, Mrs. Chace was again chosen president, but as she and her family moved to Rhode Island shortly after her election, her active connection with the society must soon have ceased.

During the period of which we have record, several meetings of the society were held at the home of Samuel B. Chace, and the name of his cousin Lamira appears in the last year as that of an active worker, while the names of Mrs. Chace's sisters are prominent all through. Arnold Buffum addressed one of the later meetings.

During the years of Mrs. Chace's membership, the work of the society, in addition to what has already been mentioned, consisted in circulating Anti-Slavery literature, including copies of the *Liberator*; petitioning the state Legislature in regard to the rights of negroes; corresponding with similar "female" societies; arranging for public meetings and passing and forwarding appropriate resolutions on special occasions, such as the murder of Lovejoy and some anti-slavery action taken by Dr. B. B. Sisson in the Massachusetts General Court.

It may be well to state here, for the benefit of the modern reader who is not thoroughly conversant with the details of early Anti-Slavery history, that the *Liberator* was Mr. Garrison's personal organ, and mainly his personal property. There was question for several years whether or not to adopt it as the official organ of the Massachusetts or other Anti-Slavery Society. Some tentative adoption was made. The paper was taken for a few months at a time on formal trial, or a certain portion of it was retained as official, the rest of the sheet being left under Mr. Garrison's sole sovereignty. It was difficult to support the *Liberator* unless it were the Society's organ.

The experiment of using it as such did not, however, succeed. Briefly summarized, and omitting irrelevant and rather personal complications, the trouble was that Mr. Garrison was a non-resistant, a Perfectionist, and held Quaker principles about Sunday. He was determined to express himself on these subjects. To some of the Abolitionists,

these opinions were obnoxious in themselves. Other people merely thought that the *Liberator* should be assisted by individuals as an individual paper, and that an Anti-Slavery organ must discuss general reforms only in a purely incidental way. There was inevitably much friction and controversy about all this matter inside the Anti-Slavery ranks, where in those years was a group of people enthusiastically devoted to Mr. Garrison, a group who cared nothing for him personally and who detested many of his opinions, and a group midway between these two in feeling and idea. In the second half of this decade the question of voting duty also began to loom before the Abolitionist conscience. Mr. Garrison was then a non-voter merely because he was a non-resistant and thought it wrong to take active part in any function connected with earthly governments. He had not, at this time, quite evolved his theory that to vote under the United States Constitution was equivalent to recognition of its pro-slavery compromises as valid law. Mr. Phillips had not, so far as has been yet made public, quite formed his opinions, as an Abolitionist, on the voting ethic.

The hints at controversy, which appear obscurely in records and letters of this period, refer to the above mentioned issues, and also to the question what part women might properly take in the Anti-Slavery movement.

Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman was one of the most brilliant and beautiful of the Abolitionist women. She was the author of "Right and Wrong," which was published in the decade of 1830; it was she whom Lowell celebrates in his verse about an Anti-Slavery Fair; she was an intimate friend of Harriet Martineau, and late in life she edited the *Englishwoman's Autobiography*. Her husband was a cousin of Ann Greene, who in 1837 became the wife of Wendell Phillips, and Mrs. Chapman has been, perhaps by some exaggeration of her influence, credited with having

had much share in determining that young orator to be a Garrisonian and no other kind of an Abolitionist.

I think Mrs. Chapman's personal acquaintance with Mrs. Chace never did proceed very far.

MRS. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, June 28.* My beloved friend, I shall not be able to come to Fall River. I grieve over my disappointment, but an unexpected press of matters, both domestic and public, will prevent. I expected so much pleasure in seeing you again,—in meeting with the faithful friends of the cause,—in mutual help and encouragement at this trial hour! But I must relinquish the satisfaction.

"Tell the friends from me, that if there ever was a moment when vigilance, diligence, *Fidelity* were demanded, it is now. Now (if it were possible) the very elect would be deceived. Intrigue, falsehood, treachery are at work. But it is our business to be so faithful that they shall be compelled to throw off the mask. God bless you all, dear and worthy advocates of Freedom. I tell you my whole heart in a word,—‘Stand by the *Liberator!*’ ”

In 1886, Mrs. Chace wrote a letter the major portion of which is here given. It was in response to an invitation from Mrs. Mary A. Livermore to visit her on a day which she had set apart for the commemoration of Mrs. Chapman. Mrs. Chace's dates are probably a little confused in this letter, but they are not seriously inaccurate, and the incidents which she relates did certainly occur within the years from 1835 to 1839:

"My recollections of Maria Chapman are vivid and delightful. I first knew her as early as 1836, not long after the Boston mob. She was then young and very beautiful.

I went for the first time to the N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention. She invited me to stay at her house. They were living on West St. in great simplicity of style, being devoted heart and soul and purse to the A. S. cause. The A. S. women had recently had a Fair,—I guess the first one. I remember as Mrs. Chapman and I sat together in the meeting on a warm afternoon, she took off her bonnet—it was a handsome leghorn, without any trimming except a wide ribbon around the crown which came down on one side, making a string, which she had pinned up on the other side. She said to me in a whisper, ‘This is some ribbon I had left over after making needlebooks for the Fair, and I hadn’t enough for two strings.’

“She told me how she had been insulted as she walked in the street, by the clerks coming out of the shops and calling after her with odious epithets. She said she had become afraid to walk on Washington St. alone, and when she had no one else, she took a little child with her for protection. She said they had now no social standing in Boston.

“She had three little children, and though so young, they seemed imbued with the Anti-Slavery spirit. I was told (I think by herself) that her little boy was sitting on the floor tearing a newspaper to pieces; and she said to him, ‘Oh, Henry, you mustn’t tear the paper.’ He exclaimed, ‘Why, it isn’t the *Liberator*, Mother.’

“While I was there, at that time, the New England Non-Resistance Society was organized, and she was the Secretary, never seeming to weary of these constant labors, although she was entertaining visitors at every meal in the most hospitable manner. And I am reminded here of an incident which occurred in the Non-Resistance meeting in connection with another of the noble women of that time. I was sitting beside Lydia Maria Child, near the table where Mrs. Chapman was acting as secretary, when Samuel J. May

came round to take the names of those who would join the Society. When he asked Mrs. Child she said she wasn't quite convinced of the principle, and she couldn't give her name. There were some questions in her mind. 'Well,' said he, 'now, will you state your objections to the meeting, and perhaps they can be answered to your satisfaction.' She replied, while her face beamed with the animation which marked its expression, 'Oh, but I see the answers myself.'"

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*March 4, 1836.* I am glad to learn that the Anti-Slavery cause is gaining with you. Here it makes but very little progress. We must not look to cities to take the lead in any reform, but to the yeomanry of the country, and principally to females.

"Yesterday I took Nathaniel B. Borden to the colored Episcopal Church, where he had an opportunity of seeing the Aristocracy of the colored population of our City. When thee comes we shall make a party of our colored friends and we will also visit some of them at their homes."

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH TO MR. CHACE

"*Boston, Aug. 27, 1836.* I know not to whom I ought to direct the expression of my gratitude for a present which came from your town. I accept it, rather as made to the Anti-Slavery cause than to myself, and feel bound to show myself grateful by renewed and greater zeal and exertions in the work in which we are engaged.

"We have been a good deal interested here in a slave case which has come before our supreme court. It was very ably argued yesterday on both sides, and today we expect the decision, which, turn as it will, is sure to be of almost incalculable importance. If it goes as we believe it ought to go,

it settles the principle that a slave brought into this State by the voluntary act of his master thereby becomes immediately free. It is impossible to say with any certainty how the case will go.

"Brother Weld is in this region again now. Brother Stanton came into the city last evening from a tour of duty. He goes out again tomorrow."

"Brother Weld" is Theodore D. Weld, who later married Angelina Grimké. "Brother Stanton" is undoubtedly Henry B. Stanton, afterwards the husband of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Correspondence between the different Anti-Slavery organizations was, as has been suggested previously, one of the effective means of keeping up the interest and increasing the energy of all engaged in the work. The following letter is one of those received by the Fall River Society. While not particularly interesting in itself, it may be worth considering as somewhat typical.

TO THE LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF FALL RIVER

"Smithfield, 4th, 22nd, 1837. Dear Sisters: We cordially accept the invitation of your correspondence on this momentous and highly important subject, hoping it may have a tendency to arouse us to renewed exertion and cause our Society to be more efficient than it hitherto has been; there is such a manifest spirit of indifference and unconcern to the woes of others; the love of self is so interwoven into our systems that it seems almost to have steeled the hearts against every feeling of humanity, closed up every avenue, and left us, or some of us, merely professed Abolitionists, without the life and spirit of those pioneers who are spending time, property, and even life itself for the advancement of the great work of universal emancipation and who, we

trust, will reap a rich reward, even the reward of 'well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'

"We number about fifty members; our Society is yet in its infancy, and, though it is a feeble one, we may look forward and hope for better things if we put our trust in Him who has promised to be 'strength in weakness, riches in poverty and a present help in the needful times.'

"Accept, beloved sisters, our congratulations on the state of your Society and our most ardent prayers for its prosperity, and may you still continue your exertions with unabated vigour not only for the removal of the soul-destroying sin of slavery, but that prejudice against color which 'is as a stone covering the well of the waters of life.'

"Permit us to call your attention to the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Convention to be held in the City of New York the 9th of next month. It seems very important that every society in New England should be fully represented.

"By order of the Smithfield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society,

"MARY RATHBONE, *Cor. Sec.*

"P. S. Your address to the Christian Women of Fall River was read at our meeting and highly approved."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO SARAH G. BUFFUM

"*Philadelphia, 9th mo., 5, 1837.* I spent a little time with J. Q. Adams when here on his way to Washington. He goes firm for the right of petition and of discussion and against Texas. He told me that he expected to present several petitions from colored people.

"I have to throw the pamphlets in the Post Office."

It was in 1835 that Postmaster General Amos Kendall gave permission to local postmasters to refuse to transmit such printed matter as they believed to be anti-slavery,

and it seems likely that the throwing in of pamphlets by Arnold Buffum was done to avoid calling the attention of the post-office clerks to the probable nature of the pamphlets as his personal offer of them might have done.

Arnold Buffum's letters to Mr. and Mrs. Chace during this period are full of allusions to theology, anti-slavery and temperance. They discuss the careers of such men as Martin Van Buren and Andrew Jackson, and they must have powerfully stimulated Mrs. Chace's thought and impelled her to action. The father and daughter did not wholly agree in opinion, but they were a wonderful pair.

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

"*Fall River, 3rd mo., 27th, 1838.* Lydia wrote that a colored girl about twenty years old was coming with her to work somewhere here who did not dare to stay in Philadelphia any longer, although she had been there two years. So don't say anything about her.

"I send thee herewith the two last *Liberators*."

Oliver Johnson was one of the founders of the New England Anti-Slavery Society and was sometimes Mr. Garrison's temporary substitute on the *Liberator*. For a long term of later years he was editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Oliver Johnson's letter given below is written on a sheet of paper upon which is printed a picture of a kneeling slave.

Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia had been dedicated to the use of the advocates of liberty. It was burned to the ground by a pro-slavery mob in which Southern medical students were conspicuous actors. A few hours before its destruction an anti-slavery meeting was held within its walls. Angelina Grimké Weld spoke that evening and Abby Kelley made her first public address.

Apparently the Fall River delegate present in Philadelphia while mobs did their work had written a report, and Mrs. Chace had consulted Oliver Johnson as to the best way to use that report.

OLIVER JOHNSON TO MRS. CHACE

"It is a very interesting sketch of the memorable events connected with the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall. Anti-slavery pamphlets are so numerous, however, and the excitement occasioned has so far subsided that I doubt whether the sales of the work would pay the cost of its publication in the shape which you suggest. The Anti-Slavery cause is prolific of great and startling events, and Abolitionists are so constantly occupied with present realities that they are less inclined than others to retrospection. I venture, however, to make a suggestion that it be printed in different numbers of the *Liberator*, and that the same types, from which it is printed in this paper, be used in striking off such a number of pamphlets as you may desire for your own distribution and sale. This will be cheaper. If the author of 'Right and Wrong' would revise it for the press, I think its publication in the form suggested above would be well worth even more than it would cost. I have not the least doubt that Mrs. Chapman would perform the service."

A letter from Maria W. Chapman, dated November 6, 1839, after a few tender words of sympathy for a recent bereavement of Mrs. Chace's, closes as follows:

"Lucretia Mott was with us at the time of the N. R. Annual Meeting. She is one whom, as far as I know, I highly esteem,—one of those whom I regret to meet at intervals so few and far between. You are another—H. Martineau is another. You, I surely might see and know more fully. Why will you not pass a few days with

us, at the Mass. Annual Meeting? Let me look forward to the joy of meeting you.

“God be with you, my friend dear and tenderly beloved, now and evermore.”

Some letters have been admitted in this volume and some passages deliberately written, in the belief that the revelation they make of little obstacles and even of domestic difficulty will render more evident the determined purpose of the Abolitionists, a purpose which struggled past nursery episodes and all other disasters and went on trying to fulfill itself. The reader is moreover requested, when contemplating some situations, to remember that nearly all the Abolitionists were poor. Poverty does not help to make a Reformer's lot an easy one. Mr. Phillips was credited with wealth, but it is likely that there was a popular delusion on that subject. Mr. Garrison's worldly circumstances were such that the threatened epidemic mentioned in the letter below must have suggested to him and his wife an appalling amount of nursery need.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MR. CHACE

“*Boston, April 26, 1839.* I have made my arrangements so as to be with you—*Deo volente*—on Friday next. You may therefore notify the people that I will address them that evening on the subject of slavery. It is very doubtful whether my wife will be able to accompany me, as George Thompson [Garrison] has just been seized with the whooping cough, and it is very likely our little Willie will also have it.

“I expect to lecture in Taunton on Thursday next.”

The free colored people were interested in the campaign for the liberation of the slaves, and often took an active

part in whatever movement was on foot to secure the desired result. An example of this is shown in a letter from a colored citizen of New Bedford, in November, 1839.

EZRA R. JOHNSON TO MRS. CHACE

"We, the colored citizens, are under a solemn obligation to use all lawful means to promote the cause, viz., the overthrow of slavery and the elevation of our much oppressed Brethren. You are aware that our election comes on this day, and I can assure you that no stone will be left unturned that will enhance the election of our beloved co-worker, N. B. Borden, Esq. The colored people are alive to their duty today."

The letter closes with some reference to the management of an Anti-Slavery fair.

Among the anti-slavery manuscripts left by Mrs. Chace are fragments of early addresses, letters, and so on. One of these is the draft of a speech to the Friends' Library and Reading Society, of which the opening sentence shows that she did not expect a favorable reception for her words. There is also a rough copy of a constitution for a proposed Fall River Anti-Slavery Sewing Society; and a letter in Mrs. Chace's handwriting addressed "Dear Sisters," and presumably written to some Anti-Slavery Society. In this the work of the Fall River Female Anti-Slavery Society is described, particularly in regard to the circulating of petitions to Congress. This is evidently a first draft, as it is written on paper having the following printed at the top of the page:

"TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

"The undersigned, women of ———, thoroughly aware of the sinfulness of Slavery, and the consequent impolicy

and disastrous tendency of its extension in our country, do most respectfully remonstrate with all our souls against the annexation of Texas to the United States as a slave-holding territory."

A significant feature of all of these early documents is the continued insistence that the work to be done included not only the abolition of slavery, but also the securing of full political rights to the negro and the overthrow of all prejudice based on color.

An old letter remains of this period written to Mrs. Chace by her young cousin, Hannah Shove, who must have been then a pretty girl in her teens. It illustrates the variety of device employed to attract attention to the "cause." Hannah sends money to pay the Female Anti-Slavery Society for a basket, and says that people who have seen this basket laugh at her because the figure of a slave is stamped on the material by which it is covered. Little Hannah could not have enjoyed being laughed at, but she pluckily carried the image of the bondman wherever she went.

Slavery and Non-Resistance principles were discussed between Mrs. Chace and her "dearest Eliza." The latter frankly called herself an Abolitionist, and she, like Mrs. Chace, knew the difference between Anti-Slavery sentiment and the Abolition principle. It would seem also from such evidence as has been discovered that they both appreciated the difference between the Quaker objection to war and the Non-Resistant's no-government theory which Garrison and Edmund Quincy adopted at this period and Wendell Phillips rejected. It is clear, however, that Eliza Earle stopped short before this no-government sequence to Non-Resistance. Mrs. Chace's attitude is less certain. She used to speak of herself as a Non-Resistant, yet all her later attitude and action towards earthly government was that of a person who

believed in its necessity and that it was not wrong to establish and maintain it. Non-Resistance ethic as practically applied was one of the subjects about which she never came to opinion which was quite so definite and sure of itself as were her opinions upon most subjects; but she never tolerated the idea that war was necessary or that it was right for an individual to accept the existence of a war as a fact which altered the moral situation, and made it right for him to become a soldier.

There was inevitably much disappointed effort to accomplish what could not be accomplished in the long Anti-Slavery struggle; unsuccessful effort to get up meetings where local opposition prevailed, and fruitless effort to obtain desirable speakers.

There were limits to the strength of that coveted orator, Wendell Phillips, and moreover he considered that one duty was paramount even to Anti-Slavery in its claim upon him. Mr. Phillips had a way of omitting year dates from his letters, so I cannot say to what occasion of Mrs. Chace's labors the following letter refers, but it serves as an illustration of her effort and difficulty.

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO MRS. CHACE

"Your note is before me. I regret to say that usually in summer I am unable to lecture at any distance. But now my wife is more ill than usual—very feeble, and I refuse everything. So you must excuse me."

SARAH M. GRINKÉ TO MRS. CHACE

"1838. Thy letter received yesterday has claimed our consideration, but we cannot at present see any time that we can visit Fall River. We have as many engagements as we can conveniently attend to before we leave Mass. to



ELIZA EARLE HACKER

proceed to Philadelphia for the purpose of attending the A. S. Convention of Women."

The *Liberator* of March 12, 1839, records a petition presented to the Massachusetts Legislature "for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia," signed by Samuel Chace and one hundred and ninety-two others of Fall River.

From the *Liberator* of March 29, 1839:

"At a meeting of the board of officers of the Fall River Female A. S. Society on the evening of the 16th inst., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we believe it the duty of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to redeem its pledge to the American Society as soon as practicable; and therefore recommend to our Society to remit its surplus funds to the treasurer of the State Society.

E. B. CHACE, *Pres.*

MARTHA B. LOVELL, *Sec. Pro Tem.*"

CHAPTER FOURTH

BUSINESS FAILURE; HONESTY OF THE CHACE BROTHERS;
REMOVAL; RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL LIFE IN PAWTUCKET
AND IN VALLEY FALLS, RHODE ISLAND; LETTERS TO
ARNOLD BUFFUM AND TO A FUGITIVE SLAVE;
VERSES; ATTITUDE TOWARDS GARRISON

THE firm of Chace, Luther and Co. failed in 1837. Asenath Chace was greatly distressed at the calamity that had come upon her brothers. "She was surprised," said Mrs. Chace, "because I had not cried over it. I had recently lost a child,—the failure did not seem of any consequence to me."

The firm paid about seventy cents on the dollar, and was honorably discharged from further obligation as to the failure. Some fifteen years later, Harvey and Samuel Chace astonished their creditors of 1837 by carefully hunting them up and paying in full their share of the residue debt.

The brothers again became partners and their father bought a mill property on the Cumberland side of the Blackstone River in Valley Falls, Rhode Island, and there, as the firm of H. and S. B. Chace, with their father, they began business anew. The father came thither occasionally and looked on, and said he felt it his duty to "help the boys" by advice. It is to be hoped that they received his counsel with proper respect, for he was a big man in his small sphere; but rumor says that Mrs. Chace was amused at the idea that these middle-aged men were only "the boys" to the old carpenter manufacturer.

When Mr. Chace began business in Valley Falls, he took up his residence first in Pawtucket, which was then included in Massachusetts. Mrs. Chace's cousin, Mary Arnold, wife of Seba Carpenter, also then lived in Pawtucket. She named a daughter for Mrs. Chace, and the two cousins began what proved to be a lifelong intimacy, based on some personal congeniality and on much common interest in matters relating to housekeeping and the care of children. Mrs. Carpenter was a sweet-mannered woman who grew in dainty prettiness as she grew older. She was a person who tried to make the small currents of life ripple pleasantly. She had a little less intellect, a little less real education, a little less reforming zeal than Mrs. Chace, but she had a more graceful nature. They did not agree religiously; Mrs. Carpenter was a contented Swedenborgian, and Mrs. Chace was still a strict Quaker.

She formed a close friendship with the wife of Gideon Smith and other Pawtucket Quakers. There were prominent Quaker families in Providence and the state was full of her kindred. Everything promised her a pleasant and moderately extensive acquaintance, but much of it failed her when, a few years later, her Anti-Slavery principles constrained her to some action yet to be told.

Arnold Buffum's two sons were rather homeless boys. William Arnold was a brilliant youth, and Mr. and Mrs. Chace had him with them during their residence in Pawtucket.

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD BUFFUM

"He [William Arnold] professes to be a Universalist, and talks a great deal about it. He writes little articles for the *Monitor* which do not amount to much, but are in-offensive. His clothes we do as well as we can about."

This reference to her young brother's theology is interesting in view of the fact that a few years previously Mrs. Chace had actually written to her still younger brother, Edward, warning him not to form roaming habits which might expose him to temptation, since temptation might lead him into "dreadful wickedness," and that in its turn would consign him after death to be "tormented eternally." The frightful words were plainly written to the boy. He too revolted from the ancestral doctrine so wholly that in middle life he would have joined the Roman Catholic Church had he not felt that such an act would mean an acceptance of the dogma which had been used as a disciplinary instrument in his childhood.

DRAFT OF AN UNADDRESSED LETTER FROM MRS. CHACE
TO A FUGITIVE SLAVE

"*Pawtucket, R. I., 1st mo., 15, 1840.* When thou left us at Fall River more than one year ago I intended to write to thee very soon and I expected to hear before now much more particularly from thyself than we have ever yet done.

"Death has twice entered our dwelling and removed from us our two first-born, whom I doubt not thou wilt remember well! They were interested for thee.

"We feel that they are happy, although our grief seems sometimes greater than we can bear. Our little one is left and we fear we love him too well.

"We were very anxious about thee after thou left, until thy letter to Richard C. French informed us of thy safe arrival on British ground, where the arm of the oppressor could not reach thee. And how didst thou feel when thou entered the Queen's dominions, when thou found thyself a free man, no longer a 'chattel personal'? Hast found plenty of employment for thy free hands? But above all, has thy wife reached thee? We have felt much anxiety to know

whether she has ever safely arrived where no fear could come over her that her husband might be sold by an avaricious master, or driven by cruelty and his desire for liberty to flee where only he could be free.

“Hast thou written to the man who used to call thee his slave? and has he replied to thee? and what does he say? I send thee a number of the *Liberator* by the same mail which carries this, which contains a narrative that I think will interest thee.

“My sister Lydia desires to be remembered to thee.”

There is no doubt that this letter was written to James Curry, whom Mrs. Chace mentions in her *Reminiscences*, and the “narrative” in the *Liberator* to which she refers was probably his own story. She wrote out that story in autobiographical form as taken from his lips, and it was published in the *Liberator*, bearing date of January 10, 1840.

In 1840, Mr. and Mrs. Chace moved into part of a large, old house in Valley Falls, where they lived till he built a house on the western side of the village road, which is now Broad Street. This house, hereafter called the Cumberland House, still stands near the northern end of the bridge which spans the Blackstone River.

It was during these first years in Valley Falls that a little boy endowed with an oddly melancholy, half-poetic nature played with John Gould Chace, and was so kindly treated by Mrs. Chace that he formed for her a worshiping, filial attachment which lasted for all the fifty after years of her life. But she had not known, at the time, that she seemed like a benign Madonna to the child. When she was ninety she said: “I did not know he had such a feeling about himself as a lonely being. I did not think that I was doing him a kindness. I thought only that he was a nice, very

pretty child, and I liked to have him come and play with John."

In this early period, her most intimate Valley Falls friend was Dorcas Harmon, an American spinster who was a mill operative. Dorcas was an intellectual, stiffly well-mannered, high-featured woman a little older than her friend. This was a friendship which never passed out of Mrs. Chace's consciousness, yet its manifestation lapsed when both women had grown old. The lapsing was, I think, principally due to the fact that Mrs. Chace seldom made much effort to see people when circumstances tended to separate her from them. Dorcas moved to Pawtucket. That was only a mile or two distant, but public conveyances were few and inconvenient as to situation. Dorcas undoubtedly had her daily employments. She could not often make pilgrimages to Mrs. Chace's house in Valley Falls. The two women had had common interests in Anti-Slavery and Spiritualism. Public meetings as to those matters had afforded opportunity for friendly association. These had ceased, still the women remembered each other; and sometimes Dorcas, white-haired and imposing in her fine, odd, New England homeliness, came "to spend the day." Finally, to cap the friendship climax, when she was seventy, possibly nearly eighty, Dorcas decided to marry! She invited Mrs. Chace to her wedding, and thither went the friend, and thence returned with report that it had seemed a pleasant and not a ridiculous occasion, and there was a touch of tenderness for the elderly bride in the way she told how, after the ceremony, Dorcas had said naively that she intended to keep the promises and take good care of her aged bridegroom.

Valley Falls was originally a village cluster of farm-houses belonging to small, outward-stretching farms, to which had been added some dwellings and dooryard workshops for the carpenters, wheelwrights, and church deacons

who would naturally reside near such farms. As a village, it was situated on both sides of the Blackstone River, and had no separate political existence. Its northern portion was in the town of Cumberland. The rest was in that part of the old township of Smithfield which stretched out a sort of arm around the southern boundary of Cumberland, although its body belonged in the northern part of the state. The villagers, although they led for many years a very isolated existence among Rhode Island communities, still lacked unity of feeling and purpose. They could not unite for the common weal, yet neither branch of the village tribe was strong enough to do much for itself as to schools, libraries, churches, public entertainment, and all kindred objects. There was no railroad that passed through the village for several years after the Chaces came there.

Early in the century, however, the cotton manufacturer had seized the place and set his ineffaceable mark upon its rural character. A wooden dam had been built across the Blackstone, and one or two of the best farms in the region forever submerged under the waters of the created pond, or allowed only to show marshy green and damp surfaces here and there above the placid flood, where pond lilies henceforth grew instead of potatoes and Indian corn.

Mills were erected on both sides of the river, trenches were dug, the tavern and some of the old village houses became factory tenements, and a few newer ones were put up. The mill population was for a long time wholly American. There was not an Irish family in the place when the Chaces arrived. The property fell into their possession because of some bankruptcy which had obliged former owners to sell. These owners had not been original Valley Falls folk, or had had but slight connection with the natives. They faded away from the community, leaving but little trace in its affection or purposes.

The old settlers were still a dominant village race when the Chaces descended into their valley, and they were a strong and typical Yankee people. How shall I describe them, and do justice to all their fine, obstinate, glorious, narrow-minded, true-hearted, lovable and hateful qualities? There was one family whose fair, delicate beauty of face passed from generation to generation. There were some uneducated yet intellectual yeoman gentry among them. There were a few wild and rough folk. There were some of the slovenly New England sort, which is a *very* slovenly sort indeed. There were numberless good, sturdy men and women. On the whole, they were a people who did not know the world well enough to know their own limitations, but there were one or two who knew and had moved in a larger life. There was one graduate from Harvard College and its Divinity School resident in the village.

The prevailing religion of the place was Baptist. With some excellent exception, the prevailing politics were pro-slavery, which was not very strange, in view of the fact that the negro in his misery was afar off and the Fourth of July orator was near, declaring that the Union with the Southern States was the beginning of righteous government on earth.

In among this worthy folk the Chaces not only came, bringing such a woman as Arnold Buffum's daughter, but also in the course of time drawing thither a number of other families of their own kinsfolk or persons who were somewhat allied to them in opinion.

Perhaps it is superfluous to say that Elizabeth Buffum Chace was not quite competent to deal with the Valley Falls social condition to the supremest good result, yet it may be that no one woman who tried to do anything important there could, on the whole, have done much better. All her intentions were good and sweet; all her main purposes and much of her method very large and wise. Her one fault was that

she had learned the theory that social ostracism is a moral remedy, and she applied it too readily; and her chief temperamental defect led her to ignore too frequently individuals with whom she did not at the moment feel in harmony. She was a little chilly and sometimes repellent in her manner, yet very often the chilliness was merely due to her own bashfulness or absentmindedness. She did not always mean to be what she seemed. She had curious streaks of timidity about courteous observances, as, for instance, even after a pretty large social experience and when she was sixty or more years old, this woman, who could preside over a public convention, was so afraid to introduce two persons to each other in her own parlor that, when expecting to have such guests, she would say to me: "Thee introduce them. I can't bear to."

She was criticized for failing once to speak to a Valley Falls neighbor whom she passed on a Providence sidewalk, and she said to the writer, "I am thinking of other things when I am in the city." Her preoccupied oblivion was a fault, but in the bitter, bitter days when social hailstones pelted, she had had the courage and the presence of mind to walk the streets by the side of colored men and women.

The following verses were printed, and probably refer to the death of John Gould Chace:

"I listen,—but I cannot hear
The music of thy voice;
Those gentle tones, which, soft and clear,
Oft made my heart rejoice.

"I look for thee upon the ground
Where thou wast wont to play,
'With merry dance and lightsome bound,'
And spirits free and gay.

“I look abroad among the flowers,
My fair-haired boy to see,
For pretty flowers and happy hours
Were closely linked by thee.

“Thou art not there,—a solemn gloom
O’er all the earth is spread,
As nature mourned thy early doom,
Thou loved and lowly laid.

“Oh! then with hammer, nails, and board
My busy boy must be ;
I look where waits thy little hoard,
But look in vain for thee.

“At night, I seek thy lowly bed,
Where, oft as evening came,
Thou laid thy little weary head,
Calling each loved one’s name.

“With a kind farewell and a loving kiss,
Thy daily work was done,
And thou fell asleep in happiness,
To rise with the morning sun.

“But first, thy little heart went up
To God for daily food,
For blessings choice to fill thy cup,
And help to make thee good.

“But even there I cannot find
My sweetly sleeping boy,
Whose heartstrings with my own were twined,
My earthly hope and joy.

“Oh! then I hie me to the grave,
‘The dwelling of the dead,’
Saying, ‘Here my beautiful and brave
Now rests his weary head.’

“But as I gaze, a gentle sound
Comes whispering in my ear,
Of Angel voices all around:
‘He is not here;

“‘Look upward!—to the eye of faith
A glorious sight is given,
Thy precious child, redeemed from earth,
A seraph now in Heaven.’”

Very soon after John Gould's death, her baby, Oliver, also died. The following verses were written in reference to this last bereavement:

“Oh! no, it cannot, cannot be;
My darling babe will live.
He must not go away from me,
He is the last of five.

“Oh! say not that my child must die;
I surely could not live
Without the bright look of his eye;
He is the last of five.

“And, much and often have I prayed,
That so it might not be;
That in a little coffin laid
This one I ne'er might see.

“Oh! Father, spare him longer yet,
Our lonely home to cheer.
We’ve often said it was for this
That Thou hast sent him here.

“Let this cup pass, if possible;
But, if it may not be,
Help us to say, *in truth*, our will
Shall yield to Thy decree.”

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD BUFFUM

“5th mo., 1840. Hast thou given up thy agency for the Anti-Slavery Society? The executive committee are doing strange things in New York—selling the *Emancipator*, etc. Marcus presented the draft thou sent, but they said they had no money. I think it time the Secretaries and agents in New York received less salaries. Wm. Adams of this place expects to attend the World’s Convention as a delegate from the R. I. Society.”

An undated manuscript of Mrs. Chace’s belongs to this general period of fermenting dissension in the Anti-Slavery ranks, and was evidently prepared as an address to some Anti-Slavery Society in Rhode Island.

It contains this notable characterization of William Lloyd Garrison:

“The man who when all others were deaf to the cry of the slave for immediate emancipation first sounded the alarm in our ears: he who first told us that immediate repentance was the duty of the sinning slaveholder and who single-handed commenced the warfare against oppression, armed, we doubt not, with the whole armor of God, he was one who believed himself forbidden to aid in the support of human

law. He was odious in the eyes of men for his early and fearless advocacy of the 'slave's claim to freedom'; for his unsparing rebuke of wickedness in high places. He has rendered himself still more odious by his adoption of the principles of non-resistance and the right of woman under right direction to plead publicly the cause of the slave. Many professed Abolitionists have become weary of sharing in this odium and being very desirous to gain to the Anti-Slavery cause men of great influence in Society, who declare that but for him they are ready to enlist, they have raised the cry that Garrison and the *Liberator* must be put down.

"These difficulties commenced in Mass. There is in our own Society some difference of opinion on these subjects, particularly in relation to the duty of woman as a moral and accountable being in the great work in which we are enlisted; but hitherto mutual forbearance and kindness have enabled us to act together in harmony and love."

Other and probably later manuscript evidence goes to prove that Mrs. Chace, both as Abolitionist and friend, resented some effort on the part of the Rhode Island workers to discredit Mr. Garrison by making very prominent at their meetings certain persons who were known to be opposed to his leadership.

CHAPTER FIFTH

GARRISONIANISM; LETTERS FROM ARNOLD BUFFUM IN THE
WEST; MRS. CHACE BEARS TESTIMONY IN THE FRIENDS'
MEETING; LETTER OF RESIGNATION FROM THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

IT is best to give here a statement of the principles which led some Abolitionists to refuse to vote and to advocate the dissolution of the Federal Union. There arose at this period a small body of professed Non-Resistants who held it to be wrong to take any part in earthly governments because they are based on physical force. Most Non-Resistants were Abolitionists, but the non-voting Abolitionist was not necessarily a disbeliever in earthly government like Mr. Garrison. There has been much confusion of ideas about the position of the Abolitionists, who, merely as such, became non-voters. It has been represented as that of passivity and an unpractical reluctance to strike at an evil with forcible and available weapons; in short, as a sort of stupid failure to see what could be done with the instruments close to their hands. Even James Freeman Clarke, as historian, thus misrepresented the position of the non-voting Abolitionists.

The legal opinion, upon which the Abolitionists, who as such and not as Non-Resistants, founded their moral objection to voting, was the opinion which was held by the largest number of authorities on the subject; namely, that the United States Constitution, although it did not contain the words "slavery" or "slave," had been ingeniously framed



Amos Buffum

with intent to tolerate and in some measure to support Slavery so long as any State wished to adopt or to maintain the system within its borders.

There was a contested province of unsettled jurisdiction between the State and the Federal Powers as to slavery, but all pro-slavery and most anti-slavery lawyers agreed that certain clauses in the Constitution were at least negatively pro-slavery and a vast number of experts considered them to be positively of that nature.

The non-voting Abolitionist became such because he believed that the use of the franchise was morally equivalent to taking the oath of allegiance to a Constitution, which did not merely fail to provide all desirable guarantee for good government, but did actually furnish a government which was evil. He considered it a personal sin to take that oath, and he refused to commit the sin. Thus Mrs. Chace construed the ethic of the situation, and it is certain that thus Wendell Phillips construed it.

Different voting Abolitionists held diverse opinions which delicately shaded towards or away from each other as to the exact nature of the Compromise clauses in the Constitution, and also as to the individual ethic involved in citizenship, and it would transcend the limits of this work to attempt to describe all these variations of opinion among the political workers against slavery.

The Abolitionists, who were later to be known as Garrisonians, advanced slowly towards the opinion and method which gained them that distinctive appellation. Mr. Garrison, partly as a Non-Resistant and partly because of a general trend of mind, early threw his influence against any attempt to form a political Anti-Slavery party. He wanted the Abolitionists to maintain the attitude of moral critics unallied to any party, and therefore free to criticize impartially the action of both of the great parties. He believed

that the Abolition movement would be strongest if impelled only by moral agitation. He seems always to have considered the Liberty Party development as a defection from the Cause, which weakened it deplorably.

The special question, however, of the rightfulness of voting arose a little obscurely among the Abolitionists, and it is hard now to learn how it first loomed into prominence.

Mr. Garrison, in 1836, considered the possibility that an anti-slavery interpretation to the Constitution might be correctly given.

It was argued that year in all the anti-slavery gatherings, ¹⁸³⁷ and sustained by Alvan Stewart and in part by T. D. Weld. The anti-slavery construction of the Constitution was argued by Rev. Samuel J. May, in 1836, in the *Anti-Slavery Magazine*.

Mr. Garrison, in 1834, before his full conversion to non-resistance, voted for Amasa Walker, to be a member of Congress.

In the autumn of that year, Mr. Phillips was admitted to the Suffolk bar, and his biographer, George L. Austin, says: "When Phillips came to sign the roll of the court as a member of the bar of Suffolk, already had he ventured to doubt the Constitution that threw even a partial protection around the master of a slave. When he wrote his name to the oath to protect the Constitution, he writhed in shame at his own weakness."

Slowly, reluctantly, conscientiously measuring each foot-step, the great Abolition leaders advanced to the voting and disunion issues, where the Anti-Slavery forces were to part one from another.

In 1841 Mr. Phillips "refused to continue to practice in the courts where an oath to the Constitution was required of each attorney."

Austin says, "In 1843 arose in the Garrisonian ranks the

discussion whether an Abolitionist could rightfully vote or take office under the Constitution." In 1844 Mr. Phillips published an argument on the subject, maintaining that an Abolitionist should not vote or hold office. The American Anti-Slavery Society thus declared itself in that same year. The Disunion question arose almost simultaneously with the voting one. There is a little doubt whether Mr. Garrison or Mr. Phillips first definitely announced the dissolution of the Union of the Free with the Slave States as the only available method for relieving the people of the Free States from complicity in the Southern guilt, and also as an efficacious method for so crippling the power of the slaveholders that slavery would inevitably be abolished by the moral and commercial influences certain to interact between two nations who were no longer bound to adopt a common policy, and by the naturally increased fear that the slaveholders would feel of their slave population. In 1844 Mr. Phillips wrote of his non-voting principle, "I seek to be in this country like an alien, like a traveler." It was a terrible position for a lover of his country to feel obliged to take. Unquestionably, some new passion of patriotism arose among the Anti-Slavery Disunionists, but that passion did not very strongly influence them all. Many of them lost much sense of nationality. Others were more or less consciously inspired by a nation-building purpose. They desired to create a new, free Republic. In the process of time, a number of voting Abolitionists also came to the opinion that the Union must be dissolved as the only practical way to free the North from the Fugitive Slave Bill and other pro-slavery exactions of the government. The principal anti-slavery Disunionists, however, never claimed that a state had a Constitutional right to secede because one rather than another political party had gained an election. Undoubtedly, they hoped that disunion could be peacefully accomplished at the demand of

a conscientious Northern majority, and they set themselves manfully to work to develop the conscience that would make such demand, but they did not very much discuss methods. Once or twice they declared that a Southern State or the Federal government had done something so unconstitutional that the Union had become really null and void and had no further claim on Northern allegiance. But Mr. Phillips, when he spoke definitely, admitted that he knew it was revolution which he was seeking. The non-resistant Abolitionist, of course, though a Disunionist, was inclined merely to predict Revolution as an inevitable result of the national crime, and not quite plainly to say that he was seeking that result.

"We do not *play* politics," said Mr. Phillips. "Anti-slavery is no half-jest with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue. We are weak here,—out-talked, outvoted. You load our names with infamy and shout us down. But our words bide their time. We warn the living that we have terrible memories, and that their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet the name of every apostate so black and high that his children's children shall blush to bear it. Yet we bear no malice, cherish no resentment."

"The hour will come," he said in the high noon of the Struggling Day,—“God hasten it!—when the American people shall so stand on the deck of their Union, ‘built i’ th’ eclipse and rigged with curses dark.’ If I live to see that hour, I shall say to the slave: ‘Strike now for Freedom. Strain every nerve, wrestle with every power God and nature have put into your hands, for your place among the races of this Western world;’ and that hour will free the slave. The Abolitionist who shall stand in such an hour as that, and keep silence, will be recreant to the cause of three millions of his fellowmen in bonds. I believe that probably is the only way in which we shall ever, any of us, see the down-

fall of American slavery. I do not shrink from the toast with which Dr. Johnson flavored his Oxford port,—‘Success to the first insurrection of the blacks in Jamaica!’ ”

Arnold Buffum cast in his lot with the voting Abolitionists who formed or joined the Liberty, the Free Soil, and later the Republican parties. Samuel and Elizabeth B. Chace became Garrisonians, and although both he and they held peace principles, they heard all the while such utterances as that above quoted, of the great non-voting, Disunion Abolitionist who was not an Apostle of Peaceful Submission, whenever he saw a reasonable chance that war or rebellion would succeed in overthrowing any great wrong which defied peaceful and legal remedy.

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MR. AND MRS. CHACE

“*Wilmington, Clinton Co., Ohio, 4th mo., 21, 1840.* Your Mother is wonderfully changed since she left New England last summer. She looks much younger and handsomer. She has learned to be so sociable that she has taken all the shine off of me, if I ever had any, so that, whenever we are invited to make visits, it is on her account. Yet her first appearance is so stately that some seem doubtful whether it will do to invite so great a lady to their mud wall or log cabins; but with many apologies they run the risk. We have not taken a dozen meals in public houses in these months.

“We have now been in this state nearly two months, during which time she has traveled with me to every neighborhood where I have been, being for the most part carried by friends in their own carriages, and without any expense to us.

“I have one meeting nearly every day, and frequently two, usually speaking two to three hours in a meeting. My throat and lungs are often much affected. My labors have

been blessed to the conversion of many. Yesterday I held a public debate all day. The audience was large. My opponent offered a Resolution; 'that the question of Abolition ought not to be discussed in the North, because we have no medium through which to effect it.'

"I offered a counter Resolution; after discussing them all day, his was rejected by the unanimous vote of the audience, and mine unanimously adopted. Before the debate was through, when he spoke, a considerable portion of the audience would go out of the house, and when I spoke, they would come in. Wherever I can get a hearing I have succeeded in making many converts.

"I have had, of Friends' meeting houses, about four-fifths offered freely for my meetings, while in other settlements they 'stop their ears at the cry of the poor.'

"Most of the Friends here are bitterly opposed to Abolition, and, when that is the case, they are the most effective emissaries of the Evil One which can be found."

The wife wrote happily on the lower half of the last page of this letter:

"Your father has left a small space for me to fill. He might have left more by leaving out some that he wrote of me. But I have made some improvement, and he fancies the rest."

HANNAH WILBUR TO MRS. CHACE

"Dover, 6th mo., 10th, 1840. Last week the State Society held its annual meeting at Concord. A spirited discussion resulted in a division of the Society. After the withdrawal of the disaffected, it was voted to sustain the *Herald of Freedom* and retain Rogers in the editorial chair.

"Hast thou seen Charles Osborne of Indiana? We were truly refreshed by a visit from him this spring. He is an

unflinching friend of the slave. He gave us a most excellent anti-slavery lecture.

"Where are the Grinkés in this trying period of our Cause?

"Dost thou expect to attend our Yearly Meeting? I love the doctrines and principles of the Society of Friends, but I cannot feel willing that *all* power should be vested in the hands of a few individuals. I wish I could have a long talk with thee."

Here is testimony to the numberless obscure channels of Anti-Slavery propaganda:

ELIZA BRYCE TO MRS. CHACE

"*Lynn, 8 mo., 10, 1840.* It would give me great pleasure to assist the Pawtucket Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society in the effort which they are about to make in the cause of human freedom, but numerous engagements will render it impossible for me to furnish them with an article for their book so soon as the 20th."

Arnold Buffum began, in 1841, to edit the *Protectionist*, which was published by the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society.

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD BUFFUM

"*2nd mo., 21st, 1841.* We have received thy paper and are much interested in reading it. We want to send the pay for it, but Samuel says one of our bills would not be good with you. The Abolitionists here are generally opposed to the third party policy, and they feel it their duty to do all they can for the *Standard* and for the *Liberator*. I myself, dear father, was sorry that it [the *Protectionist*] espoused that policy, or that it was a political paper at all, and it

does seem to me that thy editorials, which *in most particulars* are excellent, do almost condemn that course. The assertion that our weapons are not carnal but spiritual [does] not, in my view, agree with the recommendation to use the ballot for the overthrow of slavery. Is not the ballot a carnal weapon?"

LYDIA BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*New York, 3rd mo., 7th, 1841.* I attended some time since a lecture delivered by Dr. James McCune Smith, a colored physician of N. Y., on the revolution of Hayti and Toussaint L'Ouverture. A very fine thing. He is said to be the son of one of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of New York; was educated at Glasgow University and traveled over Europe."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*Missionary, Grant Co., Indiana, 9th mo., 22, 1841.* Thy very interesting letter came duly to hand, but we did not get it in time to forward the desired communication for publication. We were then out on a lecturing tour. Friends' meeting houses were freely opened for me, and Friends very generally attended, notwithstanding a few accused me of having grossly slandered the Meeting for Sufferings in my review of their Epistle.

"Thy mother accompanied me to Spiceland. We rode in a gig; were out about three weeks, moving from place to place, and holding meetings almost daily. In most places we were kindly received and entertained, but in a few places we were treated with great coldness. In one, Clean Spring, where I had a meeting in the afternoon, in a Friends' Meeting House, which held till almost sunset, after the meeting the friends dispersed in all directions. We knew no

person there, and no one asked us home. It was in a woods country. We got into the gig and I enquired for a public house. One man then asked us home with him.

“He was a blacksmith by the name of Spencer, and lived in a log cabin,—only one room, where we ate our supper and slept, there being two other beds occupied by the man and his wife and three children. The floor was made of slabs loosely laid down, and we saw stars in all directions through the crevices. The dogs outside kept up a great outcry till after midnight, and the man went out to see if there was a mob coming, which had been threatened at the meeting.

“The night, of course, was not a very pleasant one, and the only thing that made it at all pleasant to me was that thy Mother bore it all without a murmur, putting the best construction on everything. We have often slept in houses somewhat similar, as respects having but one room for parlor, kitchen and bedroom, and frequently where there are ten or a dozen in the family. But thy mother will have a blanket or sheet or her own shawl hung up before the bed for a screen, and then we do nicely. Friends are so kind and take it as such a favor to have our company that we cannot complain.

“Our dear friend Charles Atkinson of this County came to New Garden with his carriage, a distance of sixty-two miles, on purpose for us, and brought us out here. We made our home at his house a few days while I was lecturing round about. At his house there were ten children, and we all lived and slept in one room in a log cabin. His eldest daughter was married while we were there.

“We then came to John P——’s, where we now are, having been here one week. They are young folks with only nine children, among which are only three pairs of twins. They live in a frame house in the woods. We have a little bedroom in which was once a window with twelve squares of

glass, of which four still remain. The house and the children are as dirty as dirt and grease can make them. We kill only from half a dozen to [a] dozen fleas in our bed every morning.

"I am lecturing nearly every day. I organized a very large Society here last winter which is still prosperous. I have a beautiful black Arabian horse, one of the pleasantest creatures to ride in the world, and I ride on horseback continually."

Rebecca Buffum was very ill at John P——'s. That was why they stayed there so long. We have omitted the account of her illness and her husband's alarm from our transcript of his letter, but even his cheerfulness as he writes of other experiences does not hide the evident fact that it was not merely for pleasure that a sixty-year-old Abolitionist went on anti-slavery lecturing trips.

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*Richmond, Indiana, 10 mo., 30, 1841.* In my last I mentioned that thy mother had been quite ill with chills and fever. She continued to gain strength, and we left the house where we then were and went to one that was clean and comfortable. The friends at the dirty house, I ought to have added, were remarkably kind and did everything in their power to make us comfortable; but there is little comfort indeed to a woman of thy Mother's feelings in the midst of dirt and fleas. However, she bore it all like a true Christian Philosopher. I never saw any person manifest more true patience and fortitude than she did.

"We came to Richmond a week ago to attend Yearly meeting. At a meeting of the Committee on the concerns of the people of color, the question of Abolition came up, and they got into confusion, and finally the report was



REBECCA GOULD BUFFUM
(Aged 75 years)

whispered round that Arnold Buffum was there, and so to prevent me from hearing their wrangles they broke up the meeting. I was all the time a mile from them.

“Do not write any more about my wife leaving me to be with thee. We are inseparable. I rejoice that I have had this opportunity to take thy dear Mother with me. Thy Mother has been leaning on my shoulder while I have read this to her. She says, ‘Perhaps they would like to hear [a] new story.’ We sit all day, while I am occupied in preparing matter for my paper, in our chamber by ourselves, and although we enjoy the society of strangers, yet, I believe that living so long and so entirely among strangers has made us love each other more and better,—and the more we love the happier we are.

“Write a piece of poetry for my paper. Put thy name to it.”

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. LOVELL

“*Mount Auburn (Ohio), 4th mo., 3rd, 1842.* We have a handsome parlor and bedroom adjoining on the ground floor, both well furnished, carpeted, etc., for which with board and stable for my horse we pay \$5.00 a week.

“Experience has really made quite a philosopher of thy mother. If I propose to her on one day a journey for the next, she is ready, and we are off, with the same ease that we go to a meal when called, and she enjoys the scenery and the ride and the company of entire strangers, to a degree that one would have supposed impossible [because of] her native diffidence and want of early acquaintance with such things.

“I am reading Combe on The Constitution of Man, and as far as I have read I am much pleased with his views.

“After reading this, please send it to Elizabeth. Rebecca gives an account of an interesting interview with Abraham Tucker, who it seems is now suffering the awful consequences

of his enmity—not to me—but to the cause of the poor suffering slaves. It seems he is now conscious of the wrong of which he has been guilty and is penitent, but still suffering; a warning to others not to indulge a malicious hostility to the cause of love and mercy. Poor man! I pity him, and in my soul forgive him, so far as I am concerned.”

Ellis Gray Loring was a prominent Anti-Slavery lawyer in Boston. Mrs. Chace had evidently written to him to ask his opinion of the legal status of a slave who had been for a time in Pennsylvania by permission or command of his master, and had thence come northward of his own accord.

ELLIS GRAY LORING TO MRS. CHACE

“*Boston, April 25, 1842.* Your letter of the 21st is received. I am interested in the facts you mention, but can, at this time, make but a brief reply.

“If the man in question had been within the State of Pennsylvania *less than six months* at the time he ran away, he can be reclaimed and carried back to Pennsylvania and thence to the South.

“I do not think that any free state would afford him an asylum, in the circumstances I have above supposed.

“If Massachusetts were better for him than R. I. it would be only because anti-slavery feeling may be more general with us than with you. I know not how this may be.”

Mrs. Chace was acquainted with the spiritual aspiration which sought at this time to embody itself in new social forms. In September, 1842, she received the following letter in which reference is made to her brother Edward:

MARCUS SPRING TO MRS. CHACE

“We have thought he might take a fancy to some of these communities. If I were a single man I should certainly

go to Ripley's. Miss Robbins gave me a very interesting account of a man who had been all his life a coachman or gardener, who had aspirations after a better social influence, and means of higher intellectual and spiritual culture. He went to this Roxbury community and was kindly received, and is now the equal associate of some of the finest minds in the country and the cheerful, modest and improving recipient of their knowledge, as well as the giver of much information on many matters which, with all their book learning, the scholars could be taught by him. I think Edward might do well there if he would try. There would be a chance for him to do something towards remodeling Society."

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. CHACE'S JOURNAL

"*12th mo., 13th, 1842.* I have sometimes, within a few years, when sitting in meeting, been impressed with the feeling that it would be my duty to speak, but so great was my reluctance that the bare idea was almost insupportable, and I have endeavoured to throw it off as an imagination.

"My embarrassment when speaking before any considerable number of people even in a private room is so great and my command of language so small that I seldom even in conversation say more than a few words at a time.

"There has, however, been a continually strengthening belief in my mind at all times that in the path which my Heavenly Father had marked out for me there were duties and trials which I had not yet known and I have, I trust, although my natural reluctance to any public exposure of myself remained, been becoming more and more willing to do whatever my Heavenly Father in his wisdom might call upon me to perform, and my prayer has often been, 'Show me my duty *clearly*, Oh! Lord, and with Thy help I will perform it,' yet always, I confess, with a hope that it would not be to

open my mouth in any meeting. I believe that the heart-rending afflictions with which I have been visited within the last few years have been instrumental in bringing me to a state of willingness to do my duty though it lead through deep waters. That I am yet in a state of entire submission I cannot say. Alas, I am not. Last First-day, I sat through the first part of meeting in a quiet state of mind. I cannot even now remember what my thoughts were or whether I was led by a train of thought to the subject of slavery or not, but I am inclined to believe that I was not. I only remember that two or three passages of Scripture came into my mind, and immediately it seemed to me that I must rise and repeat them aloud. I became very much agitated. My heart throbbed violently and I was so unwilling that for a moment I hoped that the meeting would close before I was able to speak, that I might for that time be excused. Then I was reminded that the present time only is ours; that many things might prevent my ever sitting there again, and that if I disobeyed then, perhaps I should grieve away the Holy Spirit, which, I believed, was then striving with me. Then I thought of my husband, how it would try him for me to speak, and how fearful he would be that I was doing wrong; and I thought of the people; that probably what I should say would not be acceptable to many and I almost fainted. I cannot describe the agony which for a few minutes I endured, till finally I cried, 'Lord help me and I will speak,' and turned my thoughts upon Him and what I had to say. I was comforted to think that I was permitted to know beforehand what I must say, and as I arranged it in my mind my feelings grew calm, and when I arose I felt a good degree of composure. What I intended to say was this:

"Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. Now I believe my friends if we *do not* remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, if we are living in indiffer-

ence to the sufferings of our brethren and sisters in slavery, we cannot perform acceptable worship unto our Heavenly Father, but that we should, as our Saviour commanded him who had a difference with his brother, leave our gift before the altar and go our way, first, do our duty by our brother and then come and offer our gift.'

"I say intended, for after I sat down I could not tell whether I said what I intended or not, and I do not now know whether I made mistakes or not, whether I spoke low or loud. I only know that I performed what I felt assured was my duty and that I felt relieved thereby, and that my heart was filled with reverent thankfulness that strength was afforded me to do it. And although I have since almost fainted at the remembrance, and my heart has sunk within me at the thought that I may again be called upon, yet I rejoice and am exceeding glad that I was enabled to obey and was strengthened by the assurance that my Heavenly Father will require nothing at my hand which He will not assist me to perform, and that if I only do what *He* bids, it will bring no trials upon me which *He* will not support me through."

After a long, inward struggle, Mrs. Chace decided that she must leave the Society of Friends. She came to this final conclusion as it became increasingly difficult for Abolitionists to obtain the use of Quaker meeting houses for Anti-Slavery meetings. She said afterwards, "When the Friends shut the slave out of their religious houses, they shut me also out."

TO PROVIDENCE MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS

"*28th of 11th mo., 1843. Dear Friends:* After many months of serious deliberation, attended not unfrequently by severe conflicts, with sincere desires for the direction of

the Spirit of Truth, I have arrived at the conclusion that it will no longer be right for me to remain a member of your body.

“By birthright and education connected with the Society of Friends, I very early became attached to the Christian principles it professed, and this attachment, growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, has remained with me through my riper years, and is now strong, and, I trust, enduring. But when, for many years, I have looked for the fruits of these righteous principles in the proceedings of the Society, or the practice of its most highly professing members, I have been forced to admit that they were not suffered to produce their legitimate effects, but that the Society, having become blindly attached to mere formal observances and in a great measure dependent thereon, instead of carrying out those principles which it was called to maintain in the face of the world, had settled down quietly to enjoy the exalted reputation it had obtained by its early reformatory labors, in apathy and indifference concerning the crying sins of ‘a world lying in wickedness,’ and the suffering and degradation occasioned thereby; and (I have been forced also to admit) that it was only aroused by the fear that individual members were doing what they believed to be right independently of its authority.

“The pro-slavery position assumed and maintained by New England Yearly meeting, and consequently by its subordinate branches, has, for many years, been a subject of painful regret to my mind; and I long cherished the hope that, the principles of truth and righteousness finally prevailing, this large and influential body would yet come up, with its strong band of spirits yearning to do right, to the rescue of down-trodden humanity. But I have hoped and waited in vain. It still, like the Priest and the Levite, ‘passes by on the other side,’ incurring the fearful responsi-

bility of continuing in cruel slavery millions of our fellow-countrymen. For, I fully believe, that had the Friends in this country rightly persevered in their Anti-Slavery efforts since the time that they ceased from actual participation in the guilt of holding human beings as property, no slavery would now pollute the soil of these United States, no tears would flow from the eyes, no blood from the lacerated flesh of its wretched suffering victims.

“The delinquency of the Society in this respect has, probably more than anything else, been made instrumental in opening my eyes to perceive that many corruptions have become too deeply interwoven with its present organization to be ever separated therefrom, and my firm belief now is that by the hand of Providence they will be removed together.

“The love of dominion and its unlimited exercise by the few over the many, the practical denial to the weak of the right to call in question the authority of the powerful, whose power is too often seen to rest on the influence of wealth and worldly station and on the favor of those possessing these earthly gifts, more than on holiness of heart and life, and the countenance and support given to a blood-stained government are not the least among the abuses which I find so deeply rooted in the Society, that I feel that it would be sinful for me any longer to share its responsibilities.

“In reply to any enquiries concerning the important step I am now taking, I can only answer, that, firmly believing in the doctrine of the immediate influences of the Holy Spirit, I, as firmly, believe that it requires this of me, and I can find no peace in resisting the pleadings of its ‘still, small voice.’

“With those who, seeing the corruptions, do not believe it to be their duty to withdraw from the Society, I have no warfare. I have been in the same state myself, and it would have been very agreeable to my natural feelings to have

remained so. Their path of duty may be different from mine. I would only urge them to walk carefully by the light of truth shed abroad in the heart, and fearlessly to follow its dictates.

“Neither have I enmity towards those who sincerely believe that the Society is still in its purity, following in the footsteps of our Lord and Master, who ‘went about doing good.’ Some of them are my personal friends, and the fault shall not be mine if they do not remain so. My earnest desire for them is that ‘by a light let in from above’ they may be led to see things as they really are. So let us all seek that we may find the truth; ‘proving all things and holding fast that which is good.’

“And now, one and all, I bid you an affectionate farewell.
ELIZABETH B. CHACE.”

CHAPTER SIXTH

CHANGE OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS; INFLUENCE OF SPIRITUALISM; DOMESTIC LIFE; INTEREST IN SOME PASSING REFORMS; ANECDOTES

SOON after the Cumberland House was built, Mrs. Chace went to Flatbush, New Jersey, for medical treatment, and she took with her the two baby boys, Sam and Arnold, who were then her only children.

Mrs. CHACE TO Mr. CHACE

"I feel unusually well today, and except for my anxiety about thy health, I think I may be very happy. So thou must take good care of thyself. It did seem lonesome to have thee go away, but I went to work.

"Did you have a good Q[uarternly] M[eeeting]? and who was there, and what was done?

"The baby is as cunning and lovely as can be. Farewell dear love. It is night, the children are asleep. Hope thou art safe at home. God bless thee."

Later she wrote protesting against a plan to build a barn for the "mill company" in the yard belonging to the new house. She objected because a great deal of "clutter" would accumulate around it, but principally because the stable men would be at the barn and upon the place. She said: "It will be the schoolroom in which our boys will receive education. Think if I were left without thee what a torment it would be to me, and our poor little boys must either go

there to their ruin, or be kept under continual vexatious restraint. I do desire that no profanity may ever be heard on the spot we have chosen whereon to train up the children.

"Never mind what Father said about the roof [of the new house]. If it was not the wisest way, now it is built don't pray go about telling everybody thee wishes thee hadn't built it so, but *crack it up*, and make them think it is very nice. For it will be, I know.

"Margaret Fuller came to see me yesterday. She is going to Europe with Marcus and Rebecca."

C. M. BURLEIGH TO MRS. CHACE

"*Plainfield, Ct., July 31st, 1847.* I was not with Harriet as long as I should have liked. She told me she had no fear of death. She has a great heart and is a true woman. It seems very sad that one so good and capable and willing to work out her mission for good in this world should sicken and die."

The Harriet referred to in the above letter was undoubtedly Harriet Crowninshield, to whom Mrs. Chace's young brother Edward was engaged. She died while he was in California. A pathetic, unaddressed letter remains in Mrs. Chace's handwriting telling of a visit she made to Harriet when the end was very near. Mrs. Chace always spoke of her as a very lovely person. Had she lived, it is probable that Edward Gould Buffum's brilliant life would not have drifted to a tragic close. In a volume which he left and which his brother William published after his death, he described a moment of mortal peril which came to him in his later years, and "then," he wrote, "I thought of a pale-faced little girl whom I had loved when I was a boy."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

“Boston, June 26, 1847. I deserve a good scolding, and you a long apology, for not having answered more promptly your kind letters, inviting me to visit Valley Falls and lecture on the subject of slavery. Your first letter got mislaid, and various hindrances have prevented my answering the second till now. Be assured, it would give me great pleasure to comply with your request, if my multitudinous engagements would permit. You may readily suppose that I am constantly applied to, [from] various quarters, to lecture on a variety of subjects, especially on that of slavery; and that I am often necessitated to answer in the negative. It is difficult for me to leave home at any time, and especially so at the present time. I am soon to go West to be gone at least eight weeks, and must therefore decline being absent in the meantime as much as possible. I am aware that the Anti-Slavery cause in Rhode Island needs to be greatly revived, and if it be in our power here to send you a good lecturer soon, we shall be very glad, and you shall be duly apprized of the fact. My cordial regards to your husband.”

Among several letters belonging to this period from Wendell Phillips; all alleging his wife's health or other engagements as reason why he cannot comply with Mrs. Chace's requests to speak in Rhode Island, I select the following one. It was posted, prepaid—five cents—March 4, in Boston, but the letter itself is undated:

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO MRS. CHACE

“It would give me great pleasure to repeat my visit to Blackstone valley, and lecture as you request; and in view of such reasons as you suggest, no risk of compensation would deter me. But I have already as many engagements made as I can fulfill. Indeed I have just been compelled to

withdraw from four which had been arranged. My wife's health and the illness of another member of my family oblige me to be a great deal at home just at present."

It is quite possible that Mr. Phillips's reference to a preceding visit to the Blackstone valley is to the time when he delivered his lecture on the Lost Arts in the Lyceum Course at Lonsdale. He stayed then with the Chaces. On the drive to the hall, Mrs. Chace told him that the prevailing influence at Lonsdale was opposed to the Abolitionists, and that consequently it had never been possible to get up a meeting for them in that village. He listened to Mrs. Chace's account and then said: "I like to go to such places. I like to force such people to contribute to the Anti-Slavery cause."

She told of his remark afterwards, as confirming the general belief that he gave his lecture earnings to the cause. Mr. Phillips was permitted to speak in the courses at Lonsdale only on topics remote from Abolition.

Mrs. Chace's resignation from the Quaker Society had developed a curious difficulty as to Church and Individual Sovereignty. It was a small, preceding ghost of the later sovereignty issue between State and Nation.

The Quaker Book of Discipline contained no provision for resignation. Persons whose parents were Quakers were themselves members by birthright. Outsiders could be admitted, and any member could be regularly disowned and cut off from the Society for causes deemed sufficient, but the individual had no more right to resign than it was afterwards decided that a State had Constitutional right to secede from the Union.

So when Mrs. Chace resigned, the law-abiding Quakers said she had not resigned because she could not, and she replied that she could because she had.

Up to this time she was still a Quaker in habit of life and in theological opinion. She expected to continue attendance at Quaker meetings, but did attend the local Smithfield meeting only a few times. "When I went there," she said, "the women looked at me as though they were grieved because I had done something dreadful." She did not like to be thus treated, and her religious interest in the meetings fell away from her as the petal of an apple blossom falls before the breath of the advancing season.

The Quakers got over the difficulty in as formal a manner as they could; unwilling to admit the validity of her resignation, unable to force her active participation in their body, they finally dropped her name from their membership, on the ground that she had forfeited their communion by non-attendance at their meetings.

Released from constant association with Orthodox believers, Mrs. Chace found her ideas changing by what seemed like spontaneous action of their own. Apparently, she had no mental struggle and experienced no hour of agonizing question or painful doubt. She merely ceased to think as she had once thought, and began to think otherwise. "The first thing that slipped from me," she said, "was belief in a hell. When that was gone, belief in the deity of Christ went too. If there was no hell, there was no need for a supernatural Mediator to save us from it."

Cyrus Burleigh was an anti-slavery visitor in Valley Falls. Mrs. Chace talked with him, and his influence confirmed the quietness of spirit in which she let go of the notion that a terrible retribution awaited humanity in the future existence.

She was, however, a little longer than is implied in her statement given above, in settling herself into new opinion about the Christ. She pondered for some years upon that theme, though again, so far as I have been able to learn, without emotional trouble of mind.

Valley Falls seized the opportunity which the Lyceum Bureau offered to the country. There was a tiny Public Hall which could be utilized—a hall situated on the brow of a tiny hill, where large old lilac bushes grew in dooryards fronting on the approaching roads. Two or three courses were held in this hall. Theodore Parker was one of the lecturers.

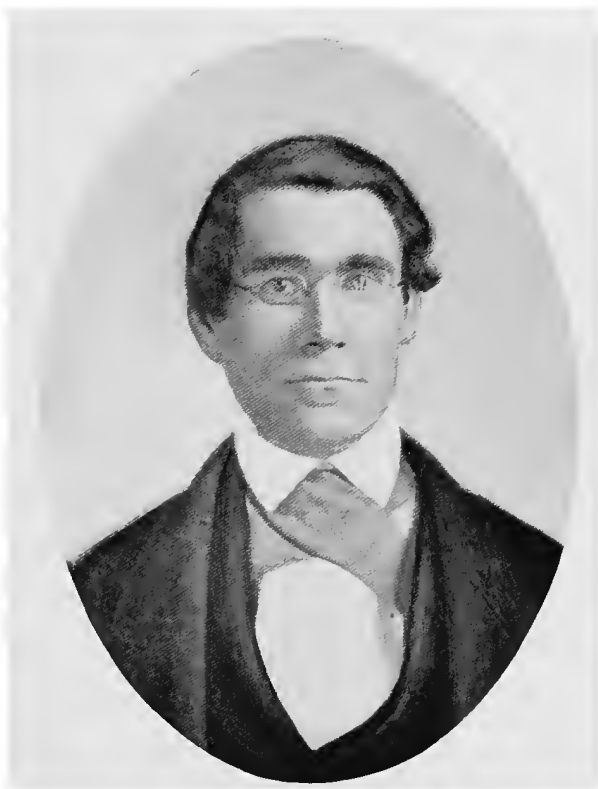
I do not know the subject of his address, but for present purposes the important fact is that he was a guest in the Cumberland house, where he won an abiding place in the mother's memory, because when her fair-faced infant Edward was brought into the room he cried out cordially, "Oh, here's the baby," and took the child in his ready arms.

Mrs. Chace said to Theodore Parker, "Who does thee think Jesus really was?"

"Why," replied Parker, "the son of Joseph and Mary,—a plain man like the rest of us."

Something in the simplicity of the answer affected her to immediate conviction of its truth.

I do not know quite how closely Mr. Chace accompanied her thought during this period, or whether they much discussed those subjects together when they did not agree. She merely reported to me by occasional remarks like this: "He did not feel it his duty to leave the Friends' Society. He was willing that I should. Some of the Friends did not like the ways that Joseph John Gurney was introducing into the Society. They decided to have a meeting by themselves and they were called Wilburites. He joined the Wilburites, and so did Harvey Chace, but Harvey's wife, Anna, did not make up her mind for some time which body she preferred; and so, although I was not a member then, I used to entertain the Wilburite Friends when they came to hold Quarterly meetings. Then she decided to be a Wil-



STEPHEN S. FOSTER

burite, and so they went to her house and did not come much after that to ours."

I never heard Mr. Chace say much about his religious opinions, but I knew that he held, in later years, to some version of the doctrine that Christ was a Supernatural Person, and that he did not believe in anything like damnation. He stated his creed with a simplicity worthy to rank beside Theodore Parker's saying:

"Christ said He would save the world. He will do what He said He would."

The village-nurtured Orthodoxy was appalling, and it must have been mostly held in the mental grasp of a thoughtless obstinacy. Benjamin Fessenden was an aristocratic-looking man who had been the popular musical collegian whose name is to be found in the autobiography of Rev. Samuel J. May. Mr. Fessenden became a Unitarian minister, and he married Mary Wilkinson, a Rhode Island woman, and they lived in Valley Falls. He adopted the Baptist doctrine, and led a secular life. For many years, however, he refused to discredit his ordination by actually joining the Baptist Church. When about seventy years old, he decided that it was his duty to do this. I myself saw the old gentleman immersed in the Blackstone River, and noted the alarmed and scrupulous gesture with which, as his dear and venerable head arose from the flood, he nervously made sure that his wig had not been disarranged in that moment of submerged holiness.

Mrs. Fessenden was a handsome, high-spirited woman, who in her girlhood had been a local belle. As an older matron, she bore herself in a dignified, slightly pompous fashion, and took excellent care of her beautiful complexion and her well-shaped hands; she knew something of society, and she was a devoted Baptist.

One day occurred this conversation, reported as accurately as is now possible:

Said Mrs. Chace, "Mrs. Fessenden, could thee be happy in heaven, if thee knew that any of thy sons were in hell?" The stately dame answered, "If I am ever so fortunate as to get to heaven, I expect to be so reconciled to the will of God that I shall be contented with whatever He decrees."

There was an unlovely legend afloat in the village that a good, sorely tried woman had frankly declared that she "supposed her deceased father was in hell, and she hoped he was." It may, I think, be fairly concluded that her imagination of hell really lacked Dantesque vividness, whatever may have been the phrases in which she tried to give language to her fancy.

As early as 1846 Mrs. Chace's non-resistance principles had led her to become an opponent of capital punishment. Among her papers are evidences that she had thought seriously on the subject and was even then ready to take part in securing the abolition of a custom which she considered a survival of barbarism.

It was almost inevitable that Spiritualism, in its dawning day, should attract the yearning interest of a woman, five of whose babes had wandered into the forest of Unknown Wilderness. Mrs. Chace saw a pillar of cloud taking shape before her on her darkened pathway and followed it for a score of years, sometimes believing, sometimes doubting, sometimes hoping that messages floated backward to her from her lost children. For two or three years in the early period a sweet young girl dwelt in her home, who had or seemed to have the mysterious power of a "medium." Later, a younger son of Mrs. Chace's seemed also thus endowed. Certainly, these things did happen when there was no possibility of intentional fraud; namely, Mrs. Chace and a few

intimates, including the "medium," would sit around a small but not too easily moved table; they would place their hands upon it, and, after two or three minutes of silent waiting, the table would begin to rock, and, so far as concerned the consciousness of the sitters, without their muscular effort. Then Mrs. Chace would repeat the alphabet, and the table would stand still and only tip to call attention to particular letters. The letters taken in that designated order did spell words, and the words did come in proper sentence relation to each other, and the sentences did carry rational significance.

Mrs. Chace, certainly, for a time, believed quite simply in it all as genuine revelation. She taught her living children that there were no fairies, but that the spirits of their own dead brothers and sisters whom they had never seen were their special guardian angels. It was a pretty faith, a real household cult, and, since it was taught and accepted sincerely, it did no harm, were it true or were it only one of the numberless human imaginations of the truth.

I think Mr. Chace never quite accepted the Spiritualistic faith. The Quaker Inner Light sufficed for him, but he was not opposed to his wife's opinion and perhaps his own sometimes approached it.

She never cared a great deal for the professional medium, but she was decidedly interested in clairvoyance and in the public speakers who claimed to deliver discourses while themselves in a condition of trance. She subscribed for the chief Spiritualist paper, *The Banner of Light*, and she read the books written by Andrew Jackson Davis. But in later life, Spiritualism, as such, ceased to influence her. She never quite disavowed belief in it; she said only, "It used to seem true when we were receiving those communications from the children." In the last twenty years of her life she said little about that long, noontide passage of her soul through a

valley wherein dreams and hopes moved like almost visible phantoms beside her.

The Spiritualist "healer," of course, influenced her during her period of faith. Five of her infants had died under medical treatment. She revolted from the sway of the regular practitioner, and adopted water cure methods, magnetic treatment, and she even sometimes used the bottle of medicine prepared by a Spiritualist doctor.

Oliver Chace at his death left to his children a comfortable fortune, and at this time his sons became the owners of the mills in Cumberland and those in Smithfield, which were later operated under the name of the Valley Falls Co.

Mr. Chace always kept his business books in Quaker phrase, the days of the week and the months of the year being designated by number. Wages were calculated in shillings, not in dollars.

Mr. Chace always wore the Quaker garb, and so long as he attended meeting, which was until his very last years, he went every First-day and generally every Fifth-day morning to sit with the dozen others for a silent hour in the Pawtucket meeting house. I suppose there was preaching occasionally, but I believe that no person in the local group was habitually favored by the Spirit with a call to utterance.

So far as my memory has power to testify, it bears witness only to the fact concerning Mrs. Chace, that she never accompanied her husband on his ordinary religious pilgrimages to Pawtucket, but also that she never objected, argued about, or to the smallest degree irreverently treated his religious attitude or action. The Quaker custom, of sitting silent at the table for a few minutes before eating, was observed by the family for many years after Mrs. Chace ceased to be a member of the Society; then she formally abandoned the habit, announcing her conviction that it was a meaningless ceremony. I am not sure when this occurred,

but I was sorry for the change in table manners. It seemed to me not quite decorous to begin to handle knives and spoons the moment we seated ourselves, yet I doubt whether there was any tincture of religious feeling in my regret. It was only my mundane conservatism which was hurt. I think that Mrs. Chace was as nearly destitute of that sort of conservatism as a person could be destitute of it who had as much "long pedigree" feeling as she really did possess, and who also had the genuine housekeeper's instinct, which is inevitably opposed to alterations in established routine.

School tasks were omitted, home labor was lessened on Sunday, but the children were never taught that it was exactly wrong to do anything on that day which it would be right to do on any other. They did not usually accompany their father to meeting, but he had some habit of taking one or more in the earlier years. Once, during this period, she told the six-year-old Arnold that he was the destined victim for that occasion, and as she was getting him ready, he dolefully inquired if there would be "any meetings in heaven." Probably he said "in the other world," as that was the untheological title by which Mrs. Chace taught her children to call heaven.

"I hope," she answered, "they will have a great deal better meetings there than we have here."

"Yes," he grunted back, "I s'pose meetings won't be more'n half an hour long, in the other world."

His idea of a better meeting was of a briefer one!

The spirit of the dietetic reformer descended upon Mrs. Chace in the season during which that spirit was abroad in the land. I think it did not move her to such extreme abstinence as was observed in the famous Bronson Alcott family. Again, however, she was influenced by the tragedy of her maternal experiences to adopt what were called Grahamite principles about food. She thought her

elder children had died because she had not known how to feed, nurse, and medicate them, and she eagerly embraced new hygienic theories to assist her in rearing her younger brood.

She did also, to some pathetic, some sensible, yet some ridiculous effect, invest her hygienic notions with the quality of ethic and its spiritual authority.

In the 1850 decade, neither she nor Mr. Chace drank tea or coffee, and except for a very few after cups of tea, neither of them ever did. She had never cared for tea, but she had been fond of coffee, and it was a real sacrifice to give it up. She considered it a stimulant, and to the end of her life she thought it a physical error to use a stimulant except in case of extreme and temporary need, and she very nearly, if not quite, deemed it to be also a moral sin.

When in 1859 her aged mother came to live with her, she provided tea regularly for her, but before that I believe she had not offered it even to guests. After that, tea was served on her table to any visitor who desired to drink it. She excluded coffee more rigidly from her dining room. She would not serve it on the table, and she would not allow it to be provided at her evening parties until after the year 1878, when the advent of John Crawford Wyman into her clan induced her to allow coffee to be on her breakfast table.

In the 1850's, meat was served only at the noon dinner, and the children ate it only when it was either fish or poultry, and they were not allowed to eat butter. Milk, cream, and eggs were freely used. All preparations of the flesh of swine were wholly banished from kitchen and dining room.

In 1857 Mrs. Chace made, with her children, a long visit to her sister, Mrs. Marcus Spring, in Eagleswood, New Jersey. She feared that it would be a trouble to Mrs. Spring to provide sufficient special food for so many visitors, and she told her children they might eat butter while on this visit.

The next season there were several cases of low fever in the family: a change of diet was recommended, and after that the children ate butter freely and beef and mutton were added to their list of permitted edibles. Still Mrs. Chace considered "rich foods" rather wrong, and although the time came when meats appeared at breakfast and supper, she never was quite reconciled to the idea that anybody should want to eat at those hours any "animal food" unless it was some sort of fish. She did not seem to think it so reprehensible to eat fish as to eat flesh.

Mrs. Chace led in some sensible house reforms. She early got rid of feather beds. The modern mattress being almost or quite unknown, she substituted straw-filled ticks for the downy heaps; she made pillows of the softest corn husks dried and slitted, and these she continued to use on her own bed till she was ninety. She dressed her little children simply, so that they could be both comfortable and clean without constant worry and heavy laundry work. She made such plain, cotton flannel slips for her youngest baby that a good housewife of the village thought "Elizabeth" had gone too far, and said, "If that child was a poor man's, we should think it our duty to have a sewing bee and make it some clothes."

Mrs. Chace, telling the story, said, "It was the happiest and most comfortable seeming baby I ever had."

She did all seamstress tasks which befitted the wifely station wherein God had been pleased to place her. Hers was the first sewing machine in the village. She was proud of the fact that she never had a sheet wear out which had not been turned. What housewife now knows why a sheet should be turned before it wears out, or has a very clear idea of what may be the process of turning a sheet?

For many years Mrs. Chace did some of the lighter housework herself, and she did what was called "the Saturday's

baking," using a brick oven for the purpose. She knew nothing of salads or of much modern cookery, and she thought some ancient cooking unwholesome and truly *wicked*, but she was an excellent cook within her moral limits. She would not use lard, but her butter pie crust was as good, if not so flaky, as was the sinful paste. She made a pumpkin pie that was a deliciously flavored custard. Her Indian meal pudding surpassed any and everybody's else, and she scorned a sponge cake recipe that did not call for twice as many eggs to the amount of flour as most recipes demand, and so was she prodigal with eggs in her boiled custards. She thought preserves too rich, and she canned fruit as soon as cans of any sort prepared for sealing could be procured. These were yellow, earthen jars, with grooves in their rims into which was poured a domestic-made wax which, hardening, held the covers in place.

She spent every Monday forenoon in her washroom. She did not call it a "laundry," she called it a "washroom." She did not do much there with her own hands, but she directed the "girl" and saw that the washing of clothes was done thoroughly, and she sometimes summoned her sons or her daughter to assist at the "pounding barrel." She taught her daughters not to dream of ruffled undergarments, "because it was so much trouble to wash and iron ruffles." She did not give up the Monday morning habit till, in 1872, she went to Europe. She thought it over while abroad and came to the solemn resolution that after her return in 1873 she would not feel it her duty to spend *every* Monday forenoon in the "washroom," and she soon ceased to spend *any* time there.

Feminine dress in the middle of the nineteenth century was atrocious; it was not beautiful, it was not comfortable, it was not well adapted to any weather, hot, cold, warm, or cool; it was not convenient to work in or to loll in, to stand

up or to sit down in. Female reformers began to rebel, but unfortunately they rebelled morally and not beautifully, and unbeautiful action is "an unpardonable fault in woman."

The "bloomer" costume was invented. It was very ugly, and perhaps it looked uglier to the inartistic eyes of that generation than it would appear to a later vision trained to see that the shape of garments should bear some relation to the natural form. How could a people judge rightly of beauty or fitness of apparel in a nation and a period when it was possible for a newspaper editor to say that it was shameless immodesty for Abby Kelley to stand before an audience in a high-necked, long-sleeved gown, but without a shawl around her shoulders?

Only a few women donned the bloomer costume. They, of course, were Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights Women, and their hated opinions made the dress look ugly and wicked to the multitude, and the dress in turn made their opinions seem more horrible.

The costume was that of a basque or coatlike waist surmounting a straight, short skirt that reached to the knees or a little below, and from underneath which mannish pantaloons, made of any preferred material, extended like loose, flappy pipes to the ankles.

Mrs. Chace had such a dress made, and she found it convenient to wear in the house when she was working. After so wearing it for a while, she decided that she ought "to bear her testimony" and her cross in public as the other Bloomer-zealots did. Mr. Chace was willing (she distinctly said that he was!). So, one day, morally clothed and in her right mind, she sallied forth into the Valley Falls roadways. She encountered no mob and met with no serious unpleasantness; but she went out a heroine determined to be a martyr, and returned home a bashful woman, who did not want to be a martyr. She had felt herself stared at, and she did not

like it. She summoned Conscience before the bar of her Individuality,—and Conscience gracefully bowed, and said that if her Individuality felt so uncomfortably scared, she, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, need not wear that dress again on the street. She did not, and soon ceased to wear it in the house. She always, however, admired the women who did wear the bloomer dress longer and more publicly than she had worn it; and I, half unconsciously, imbibed from her a peculiar reverence for Lucy Stone, who, for some lengthy and terrible seasons, wore that costume as she performed her heroic journeys across the country, pleading everywhere for slaves and women.

MRS. SPRING TO MRS. CHACE

“*Brooklyn (1849)*. The reason of our going to Newbury was to see Fredrika Bremer. Mary Howitt gave her a letter to us. We went to Mr. Downing’s beautiful place, and had a most lovely and interesting time. I said a word to her about keeping her heart and mind free from prejudice on the subject of slavery. I told her what people would say to her and just how untrue it was,—that slavery was like domestic servitude in the North, etc.

“Mr. Downing said that to her while we were there, and I said, ‘Do not ever compare anything to our slavery.’ I afterwards had a private talk with her.

“I remember being only once before so impressed by the presence of a great soul,—that was in Dr. Channing’s presence. She [Miss Bremer] is a little, kind-looking, Dutch-looking woman with a big head, but her face is covered with a beautiful expression of love and goodness. In about two weeks she is to come to us.

“Wm. Henry Channing is editing a paper in N. Y., *The Spirit of the Age*. He is a dear and precious old friend. Every time we see him he is dearer to us.

“We have heard the pleasant news that Margaret Fuller has a boy over a year old, and that she is married to Count Ossoli! We were merely amazed at first, but now it seems all right and nice,—but isn’t it queer she never told it before?”

Not much record has been discovered of anti-slavery work done by Mrs. Chace between 1847 and 1853. This does not prove that she did not at that time perform a great deal of such labor; yet it is possible that she was less active then than in earlier and later years. Her daughter Lillie was born in December, 1847, and that unprecocious and wrongly disposed infant could neither feed herself, talk, nor walk, but had acquired the whooping cough, when on March 17, 1849, Edward Gould was born. He took the whooping cough before he was old enough to know better, and had a delicate infancy in consequence. During six months, Mrs. Chace never left him, having even her meals brought to her by his bed, if he were asleep and she could not take him with her to the dining room. On January 4, 1852, Mary, the last child of the house, was born.

It does seem a thing to be excused in Mrs. Chace if she did not carry on a great deal of anti-slavery propaganda in the middle years of the century.

It cannot be claimed for Mrs. Chace that in the 1850 decade she made any great effort to prevent the growth in the village of a caste distinction between the employers and employees connected with the cotton mills, but she did not err much on the aristocratic side of the social question. She exerted herself according to personal preference and in furtherance of reforming and humanitarian purpose, and not consciously much as either an aristocrat or a democrat; though she did at about this time begin to dislike it exceedingly when persons not her equals in age, or entitled to do

so by Quaker principle or friendly association, availed themselves of the Quaker habit and called her "Elizabeth" instead of "Mrs. Chace."

The operative population had now become largely foreign in birth or immediate extraction and it was Catholic in religion. She never tried to establish, with this class, any social relation, nor do I remember any such between herself and the American mill workers, after that with Dorcas Harmon, except among those in the overseer and cloth room contingent. Some family intimacy always extended into that group.

She visited among "the poor" because they were poor, but I am unable to say how much.

On the whole, Mrs. Chace's nature always impelled her more strongly towards the advocacy of general principles and the pulling down, making over, or building up of institutions than to personal effort with individuals.

She visited one of the village public schools and was disgusted because the teacher would not let a small child quietly build a house with books on its desk, but compelled it to sit still, with its restless little hands idle behind its back. She formed (apparently in that one hour) an opinion that public schools were inadequate to the educational need, and she reënforced that opinion by watching one or two children who attended them. She said to me: "There is something about a public school which makes a child dull. So-and-So was a bright little girl till her mother began to send her to the common school."

It was an occasional Valley Falls habit to hold "exhibitions" in the Public Hall. These were gotten up by persons who wanted to do something agreeable or beneficial to the community. No admission fee was charged, no special invitation to attend was necessary, and anybody who wanted to could go to the hall. Mrs. Chace was interested in these

exhibitions—a fact which is noteworthy because the performances were mainly of a dramatic order, and her interest antedated her own willingness to go to the theater and even antedated the appearance in her bookcase of any copy of Shakespeare.

The fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, was given up to his Virginian claimant by a Boston judge in May, 1854. Not long afterward there was to be an “exhibition” in Valley Falls. Mrs. Chace wrote a little dialogue, taught it to her boys, aged ten and eight, and they spoke it at the exhibition. I remember the two small figures standing on the platform, and although I cannot quote the dialogue with verbal accuracy, I know that it began in something like this fashion:

Boy number one—“Why will you not come and play?”

Boy number two—“I don’t feel like playing; I am thinking about a poor man who has just been sent back to slavery.”

A few years later Mrs. Chace was principal in getting up some tableaux in the Public Hall, one of which represented the Goddess of Liberty, the goddess being Sarah Bucklin, a magnificent blonde young woman, who in Columbian costume bent forward to loose the shackles of a negro slave.

There were sometimes small, professional entertainments in the Public Hall. Glassblowers performed there, and troupes of wandering minstrels. Mrs. Chace invited a number of these strollers to stay at her house during their necessary sojourn in the village. A branch of the Hutchinson family were naturally her visitors, because of anti-slavery interest, but in a few cases she invited odder guests, such as an Indian or an Indian’s companion.

I do not know how it happened that Joshua R. Giddings was not entertained at the Cumberland house, but I presume that he was engaged to come to Valley Falls by some political

group which did not include Garrisonians in its councils. One day Mr. Chace came in about the noon hour, and said eagerly:

"Giddings is to speak tonight at the Hall and I am going to hear him. I want to see that old man who has been battling with those Southern fellows all by himself in Congress."

We noticed it because it was not usual for Mr. Chace to show eager excitement or to want to go anywhere in the evening.

I was told, rather to my juvenile astonishment, that I was to go with him. I am sorry to say that I do not recall a word that the great congressman said in his lecture, but I remember his face distinctly.

After the lecture Mr. Chace, taking me with him, pressed up among the men surrounding Mr. Giddings and introduced himself, saying, "I married Arnold Buffum's daughter," and then he indicated me; "and this little girl," he added, "is Arnold Buffum's granddaughter."

Some one else spoke at the same moment to Mr. Giddings and drew away his attention, but Mr. Chace would not let him off. He repeated:

"This little girl is Arnold Buffum's granddaughter," and he made Mr. Giddings shake hands with me.

It was a trifling incident, but it impressed me because it was so evident that Mr. Chace was proud because he had married Arnold Buffum's daughter, and also that he was more interested in *me*, than he might otherwise have been, because I was the grandchild of the first President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.



JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS

CHAPTER SEVENTH

LOCAL FRIENDSHIPS; EARLY INTEREST IN WOMAN'S RIGHTS
AND THE PROPER CARE OF CRIMINALS; EDUCATION OF
THE CHILDREN; BUILDING OF THE HOMESTEAD

PAULINA WRIGHT, a beautiful widow, came to Providence to deliver some lectures on hygiene. She was a friend of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in New York state, and of Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster, in New England. She and Mrs. Chace met and were mutually attracted. A friendship ensued, which, on Mrs. Chace's part, was rather more personal than most of the friendships of that middle period of her life seemed to be. She liked "Paulina" herself and not merely Paulina's opinions. She enjoyed her beauty, her soft, social manner, and her graceful audacity.

Thomas Davis of Providence was by birth an Irishman, by business a manufacturing jeweler, in rank a Congressman, and in politics an anti-slavery Democrat. He had married one of a noteworthy group of sisters, the daughters of William Chace the elder, whose son William was a well-known Abolitionist and Transcendentalist. Mr. Davis was a high-toned gentleman, and he had become a childless widower when Paulina Wright came to Rhode Island and brought her golden hair, her serenely willful ways, and her determined notions with her.

She spent a day at Mrs. Chace's, after their intimacy had proceeded far enough to warrant speech, and so Mrs. Chace told her of certain rumors and asked what they meant. Paulina grew impetuous in reply. She did not see why people

were ready to put such interpretation upon any and every friendship between a man and a woman. She had a sincere regard for Mr. Davis; she presumed he had for her. She had no "intentions"; he had never given her the slightest reason to suppose that he had any. She did not believe he had ever thought of "such a thing," etc. Mrs. Chace was presumably silenced by her sweet energy, or thought it best to change the subject.

But Mr. Davis, by prearrangement, drove to Valley Falls in the afternoon and took Paulina Wright and all her loveliness back to Providence in his buggy. Soon again Mrs. Chace met her friend and reproached her for lack of candor. "What I told you was perfectly true," answered Paulina. "There had not been a word of marriage spoken between us then, but there was before we reached Providence that afternoon."

So she married, and thenceforth Mrs. Davis dwelt like a sort of foreign princess in Providence. She was too much of a reformer for adoption into the "society" set of the city, too alien in purpose to suit its great cotton manufacturing families, and too heretical for its college folk,—but nevertheless she was a radiant figure in its circle of literary, artistic and reformatory people. She did not like household loneliness, and always had visitors from other places staying with her. Through her and her house parties Mrs. Chace came in contact with a little different order of human life from that which either Quakerism, Abolition, or the village afforded her. But she cared for Mrs. Davis herself, and I remember that once, when the latter's health failed rather seriously, Mrs. Chace cried over a note she had received from her.

The following letter is undated, but it belongs to the very early period of Woman's Rights effort in New England:

MRS. DAVIS TO MRS. CHACE

"Yesterday, I wished much to come to see you on a little, or rather a great matter. I wanted your name to the Call for a Woman's Rights Convention. I felt you would give it, but I wished to see you. It rained, and I could not, but, for the credit of Rhode Island, I have ventured to put it down. Not being quite so well assured of your husband's views as yours about the movement, I did not give his name."

Mrs. Chace is registered as a member of the Woman's Rights Convention held at Worcester, October 23 and 24, 1850. She is recorded as "E. B. Chase, Valley Falls, *Mass.*," the residence being given erroneously, but the spelling of the name Chace with an *s* instead of *c* was one which, for a number of years, she adopted, and had for its usage the warrant that the name had been so spelled inside the family. At a later period she accepted the spelling of *Chace*, which her husband and all their children used.

An odder contrast in feminine personality could hardly be found, existent within the ranks of goodness and of general similarity of opinion, than was presented by Joanna Ballou to Paulina Wright Davis. I do not know that these two women ever met, but probably they did, and Mrs. Chace moved socially between them. I doubt if she cared much emotionally for Joanna, but she respected her worth and that of her stolid, manly husband, the Cumberland farmer, Amos Ballou. He was a cousin of Adin Ballou, the inspiring genius of the Hopedale community, and theirs was kinship to Hosea Ballou, the founder of the Universalist Church.

Joanna was of Quaker extraction; she was a loquacious woman, not over-furnished with brain quality, a notable housewife, a true-hearted Abolitionist, and, as I first and last remember her, a queer-looking, elderly person. She was

a much older sister of Abby Kelley Foster. It was in her house that Abby worked for wages, in order to provide herself with raiment, in those consecrated years when she would not take pay for pleading the cause of the Slave before mobs that howled, or, as in the college city of Providence, pelted her with rotten eggs.

The Ballou farm was three miles north from the Valley Falls bridge, and it was pleasant to drive through a stonewalled, country road, past wayside boulders, and sit with Joanna in her shady (probably ugly) parlor, or in the open doorway, while the children clambered upon ladders and wooden chairs placed under cherry trees. They filled their mouths all they could, and a little more than they should, with the ripe, red fruit, and felt deliciously witty and wicked, as they, young Garrisonians or Fremonters, every one, declared that for that hour they were "Fillmore men."

Sophia Little, the "prisoners' friend," was an habitual visitor at Mrs. Chace's in the 1850 decade. Twenty-five or thirty years later I called on her in her Newport home. The saintly old woman raised her eyes and said simply, "I see God." From an impulse more constraining than any intellectual conviction I answered, "I believe you do."

I think that this story and all the spiritual effect of personality so indicated suggest Mrs. Little better than anything else which I, at least, could tell. I doubt not that the friendship with her was one of the assisting influences which turned Mrs. Chace's attention upon the methods of dealing with the criminally disposed classes. This developing tendency of her thought was stimulated by her interest in a village tragedy. Mrs. Studley, already old, was convicted, on circumstantial evidence, of having murdered her yet more aged and recently espoused second husband. According to Rhode Island law, she was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mrs. Chace believed that the woman was guilty and had no foolish sympathy with her, but she did feel, with rather remarkable keenness and conscientious impetus, a neighborly duty towards the old Valley Falls sinner. She went occasionally to see her in jail, and she reported her visits punctiliously and kindly to Mrs. Studley's nearest kindred. After some time had passed, some one (I think Mrs. Little) tried to get a pardon for Mrs. Studley. Mrs. Chace considered the matter carefully, but, if my memory is correct, decided not to move in it herself. Later still, however, when Mrs. Studley was evidently near the end of earthly existence, she thought it could do "no harm" to let her come home to die, threw her influence in favor thereof, and rejoiced that the old woman was so permitted to return to her relatives. Mrs. Chace had always been glad that the prison conditions had been made as easy as they might be in consideration of Mrs. Studley's age and the doubt which always existed of her actual guilt.

If she was guilty, however, it was supposed that one of her kin, although never publicly accused, was involved in that guilt. It was evidence of an uncommon fiber in Mrs. Chace that during all the years in which the squalid tragedy dragged out its weary length she steadily visited that suspected person on errands of beneficence.

In 1854 Mrs. Chace took a fancy that she would try to learn French. She soon gave up the effort, and afterwards seemed disgusted by the barest suggestion that she should endeavor to pronounce a French word in the faintest imitation of the French manner. If she had to speak a French name, she, apparently of set purpose, Anglicized it to such degree that she almost Yankeeized it.

I found the French primer she had used, studied it with all my eight-year-old capacity, and announced my desire to learn French. Mrs. Chace consented readily and Mr. Chace

lent his assistance benevolently. He drove me twice a week in his buggy for lessons in Providence. Long, silent journeys were those rides, for we were not a talkative pair. Sometimes, when our pilgrimage to Providence was made on Thursday, we got back to Pawtucket by eleven, and Mr. Chace stopped his buggy at the Quaker meeting house and took me in to it with him to spend an awful hour at the Fifth Day Meeting.

The French lessons were given at the school which Mrs. Sarah A. Greene kept in her dwelling house on Meeting Street, and so the Chaces began to see more of the Greenes. I found a copy of *Rasselas* on Mrs. Greene's bookshelves. Mrs. Chace told me that she had long since read the book, and she thought I would be interested in it. I read it prepared by her account to understand it—a little. Mrs. Greene belonged to that sisterhood one member of which was then Mrs. George L. Clarke, while a vanished one had been the first Mrs. Thomas Davis, and two younger ones were yet to teach the freedmen in the South. Mrs. Greene was a very beautiful woman. An exquisite charm breathed from her personality, like fragrance from the heart of a deep, full-petaled rose. She was a widow, her husband having been Christopher Greene, the gifted young soldier turned Transcendentalist of whom Miss Peabody tells much in her recollections of William Ellery Channing. It has always been very sweet to me that, long after his death, Mrs. Greene said of Mr. Chace: "He was very kindly thoughtful of me. I had a tender feeling for him. I felt that he was my friend."

Mrs. Chace made an error in these years which we are considering, but it would have been difficult for her to have had the impulse which would have prevented her from making such a mistake. She accepted too completely a limited social sphere. She made no effort outside of the village to establish visiting relations or even saluting acquaintance

either in Pawtucket, Providence, or in the country neighborhood with any of the prominent families, between whom and herself there did not exist some decided bond, of kinship, of already old acquaintance or of reforming purpose. Consequently, as her children grew older, they entered into no circle of natural comradeship. They knew the members of few families outside of Valley Falls, and it happened that there were not many youths of their own age in the families which they did know. It was a misfortune to their adolescent life,—it was a misfortune to Mrs. Chace also. She was not familiar with social custom, she had not acquired genial tactfulness, she had not softly sympathetic comprehension when her children became eager lads and shyly desiring maidens. Tender anxiety enough she had,—but little comprehension. She wanted their lives to move contentedly in the grooves that seemed “best” to her, who was not ever in her whole life a *young* mother of even a half-grown child.

But all result of the family isolation was unforeseen by her and Mr. Chace in the earlier years, and indeed I doubt if she ever, in the later time, realized the situation, or, if so realizing, she thought it could have been mitigated. Probably she would merely have said of it: “We had to choose between the pro-slavery, fashionable, dissipated world and the company of people who were trying to make the world better; we chose the latter. There were not many of them; but we chose ‘the better part.’” To a great extent she would have been right in saying so,—but not wholly,—for it need not have been such a narrowing choice, and its extremely confined limits were accepted by her and not quite forced upon her by the ostracizing spirit of the day. There were people in that region holding opinions, living lives not quite in theoretic accord with her own, but still people as conscientious as herself, whom she did not know, and who did not know her, and it would have been well for both her

and them if she had tried to cross the separating barrier, and mingle her best aspiration with theirs, even though they themselves did not first make such effort.

She had come to Valley Falls a stranger, and before she had become much known outside the Quaker group, the lines had been drawn against her as an Abolitionist. She stayed inside the small inclosure,—and she grew a little colder in manner and feeling, a little more arrogant in her righteous judgment, a little more oddly aristocratic in her seclusion, than was quite consistent with her noblest self.

Perhaps I underestimate the weight of the ban placed upon the Garrisonian Abolitionist, but I cannot quite believe that in the 1850 decade Mr. and Mrs. Chace would have been refused a little social recognition which they did not have, and most certainly never sought, in Mrs. Chace's native state of Rhode Island. She did not invite the little girls I met at Mrs. Greene's school to visit me. She did not try to get me chances to visit in their homes. She did not seek to know their parents.

Two sisters among her Bartlett cousins had married men named Brown. One was Rebecca, Mrs. John D. Brown,—a widow in the years that I remember, an Episcopalian, and a sweet-voiced, high-bred woman, who glided gently through an impecunious, decorous, pale existence. The other, Caroline, was Mrs. Isaac Brown, an imperious, elegant dame, who loved in a warm and rather difficultly pleased way. She loved Mrs. Chace, and was at times hurt and irritated by a preoccupation in other interests which made the latter act with some indifference to "Cousin Caroline's" desire to see her. Mrs. Chace went to a "reform" meeting and did not call on Mrs. Brown,—hence there was occasional friction between the two women. Mrs. Caroline Brown was a Unitarian; both she and "Rebecca" were, at least moderately, anti-slavery. Caroline was the wittier and

more entertaining companion, but Mrs. Chace loved "Cousin Rebecca" the better.

The Sissons lived in what was then a rural suburb of Pawtucket. Theirs was a family of seven sisters and one or two brothers, who all lived together till the youngest was over thirty, when a man induced one of the sisters to marry and leave the celibate flock. Mrs. Chace seldom made witty speeches herself, but she appreciated wit in others and perceived the humorous situation. She told with keen relish how, on the occasion of this belated marriage, Susan, one of the elder sisters, said that she thought it was a shame for a man to come along and break up a family in that way.

Susan was extremely homely, but, "Susan says," reported Mrs. Chace, "that she feels as handsome as anybody."

The Sissons were Quakers of the Gurneyite persuasion. They were thorough Abolitionists,—Garrisonian, except as they went beyond him and sympathized with Nathaniel P. Rogers in that unfortunate time when, according to Colonel Higginson, Rogers "out-Garrisoned Garrison."

The Chace friendship with Adam Anthony dated back to the first years of residence in Rhode Island, and it had a distinctly intellectual basis. He was older than Mr. and Mrs. Chace. He was of Quaker extraction. When a child I went once with Mrs. Chace to call upon a sister of Adam's. She received us in a room where were many pots of growing plants. I was told that one of her chief occupations was to fan them.

Adam Anthony was a Swedenborgian, and at some early period in the acquaintance he was a childless widower. "The Swedenborgians," reported Mrs. Chace, "think there is only one true marriage possible to each man or woman,—but they always manage in their own cases to decide that for special reasons a second marriage would be right. Adam Anthony did that."

Adam did very well for himself when he came to that conclusion. He married Martha, a middle-aged, plain-featured, Hicksite Quaker woman. She wore her white muslin cap with placid dignity and said "thee" with Pennsylvania accent, and all was quietly happy in his home. Of course the Adam Anthonys were anti-slavery.

It was the day when much good principle mingled with strong prejudices. Mrs. Chace got hold of and read a translation of *Consuelo*. She had probably never before heard of George Sand. She judged the book on what appeared to her to be its own merits, and saw in it the story of a "young girl who kept herself good wherever she went." She spoke of it to Adam without mentioning the author. Soon he came again to see her, having made discovery, and genuinely affronted he cried out, "Why did thee recommend to me a book by that atrocious woman?" Mrs. Chace had unwittingly offended.

Mr. Chace's cousin Jonathan lived in Mannville. His wife, also an Elizabeth, was much younger than Mrs. Chace. She was neither remarkable nor commonplace, unknown to the world and knowing little of it, delicate as a blossom, useful as a fruit, not wonderful in any way,—simply perfect in her own. She did her housework and read the *Atlantic Monthly*, which Mrs. Chace gave to her.

She discussed Wentworth Higginson's essays with her older friend and confided to her the fact that she found it hard to understand some of the articles in the new magazine. Mrs. Chace told her that she also had had some difficulty in full comprehension, but she had determined that she *would* understand whatever could be published in that periodical, and by dint of determination she had succeeded in so doing. Then the younger Elizabeth decided to do likewise and succeeded.

A great gap in the family intimacies was caused by the

death, in 1854, of Mrs. Chace's sister Sarah, who died suddenly. Mrs. Chace seemed stunned by the tidings. Some time later, I heard Mr. Chace say brokenly: "I've never got over Sarah's death. There's nobody to take her place." Child as I was, I did vaguely perceive that he was trying to express not only grief, but his consciousness that a fortress had fallen and the City of Life stood undefended before the advance of Fate.

On the shelf in Mrs. Chace's parlor was a silk-covered box. It had been sent from Scotland and sold at an anti-slavery fair. The silk was drab-colored; there was a verse of Cowper's on it and a picture of a kneeling slave. An engraved portrait of Garrison was in the house, the one which had, below the likeness, the text, "I am in earnest: I will not equivocate: I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard." Sometime in the early fifties Mr. and Mrs. Spring lent to Mrs. Chace a collection of foreign prints, and thus Europe and art entered the Cumberland house. When the Springs took back their pictures, they left, as a gift, an engraving of Correggio's Holy Night, which was either the first or second really fine picture that Mrs. Chace ever owned.

Edward H. Magill, then a student in Brown University, came to the Cumberland house and introduced himself. He was an Abolitionist, a Pennsylvanian Hicksite Quaker. In due time he married a Pennsylvania damsel and obtained a position in the Providence High School. He lived with his young family on the "old road" between Pawtucket and Providence. Thence he went to serve in the Boston Latin School, and in the later years of the 1860 decade he became connected with Swarthmore College, where he was either Professor or President to the end of his working life. On the whole, between 1850 and 1862, the friendship with the Magill

family was the most important local association that the Chaces had, and greatly influenced the educational theory and practice of the family.

Mrs. Chace started the education of her children with governesses. A schoolroom was fitted up on the second floor. The school hours were regular, and sometimes a few pupils from other families attended the sessions.

Mrs. Chace's oldest son, Sam, was seven and Arnold five when instruction began. I was not at first included in the teaching, but I listened and learned of my own accord. It was afterwards said that I read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* before I was six years old. That is a pretty legend,—but I, who ought to be authority on the subject, do not believe that I read the novel itself at that age. The witness against me is Henry C. Wright, who discovered that I knew the story. I think I acquired that knowledge from a few glances into the bigger book and a diligent perusal of a version of it prepared for children. Mrs. Chace had her children read aloud a great deal, and they read Whittier's poetry in concert with her. She thought that the art of reading aloud was a very important one to acquire, and one the teaching of which was too much neglected in modern schools.

Map drawing was carefully taught by the governesses, and the children prepared school periodicals and toy books in manuscript. Both the boys and girls were taught to do the simple embroidery which was called sampler marking. Much work of this nature is now a matter of course in all schools, but it did imply advanced educational theory in Mrs. Chace that in those years she, a Valley Falls resident, chose governesses who could carry out or suggest such ideas.

Miss Sophia Ford, of Concord, Massachusetts, was one of the early governesses. Mrs. Chace never used corporal punishment with her children after my day, and she was

incapable of giving a child the slightest physical touch which could affront its personal pride. Accustomed to such refined manner, I disliked Miss Ford ever after the moment when I was, perhaps, four years old and she gave me, not a blow, but a small touch that I resented. Still she was an admirable instructor, and her talk brought Concord to Valley Falls. She taught botany; she walked with the children over the fields behind the Cumberland house and made her pupils observe the geographical features of the pond and its banks, and carefully taught them to estimate distances by sight.

She was a dark-skinned, pudgy-featured woman who always remained a spinster. Can it do any harm now to say that she believed in the twin-soul theory, and confided to Mrs. Chace her conviction that Thoreau's soul was twin to hers, and that in "the Other World" her spirit and his would be united? I never knew whether or not she thought that here on earth Thoreau himself had any twin-consciousness that matched her own.

Soon after the publication of Mrs. Child's Progress of Religious Ideas, Mrs. Chace decreed that part of the school routine should consist in reading that book to the children, and about the same time she gave me Scott's Poems. She allowed me then to read only The Lady of the Lake and the shorter ballads. I had to grow older before receiving permission to read Marmion and the other poems. I believe I obeyed these directions, but I disobeyed another, and read The Arabian Nights on the sly. Mrs. Chace did not approve of fairy stories, but relaxed her rule as to Louisa Alcott's Flower Fables and one of Hans Christian Andersen's books.

EXTRACT FROM MRS. CHACE'S JOURNAL

"*Valley Falls, 4th mo., 3rd, 1854.* Yesterday I promised Eddie that I would buy a stick of molasses candy for him,

but I forgot it until after supper tonight and then gave Lillie three cents to go and buy some. She wished Arnold to go with her. When they returned, she brought four sticks and, according to my promise, I gave Eddie one. I then broke one in two and gave it to Arnold, bidding him give one half to Sammy. He said he wanted a whole stick, and kept on fretting and scolding. Finally he threw the half stick in my lap and said he would not have it. I said he should not and arose with it. He screamed and endeavored to force it from me and finding he could not, he commenced striking me. I seized his hands and held them and bade Mary help me to undress him, but he kicked so we could not and I sent out after Michael; I holding his hands the meanwhile and he kicking and pulling in the most violent anger. Michael came and all three of us with the utmost difficulty divested him of his clothing, put on his nightgown, and then Michael laid him in bed. All this time I felt perfectly calm, without the slightest irritation. Something whispered encouragement in my spirit, saying, 'Do it thoroughly; it will be the last time.' At first I told Michael to sit down by the bedside, for I feared he would attempt to get out the window; but I soon saw he had no idea of doing that, and so I sent Michael out. Arnold opened the door into the bathroom and I let it remain so. He took all his bedclothes and strewed them on the floor; pulled off the mattresses; pulled out the bed cord and then went to the bookcase which stood in the room and took out every book and paper and threw it on the floor. The other children had gone to bed and nobody interfered with him. Then his angry passion seemed to have spent itself. He lay down and wept. It grew pretty dark and he was alone. After a while he came out sobbing and said, 'Mother, will thee get me a little stick to put the strings into my bedstead?' (meaning the bed cord. The bedstead has holes for the cord

to go through). I gave him a fork and he went back. Sammy volunteered his assistance and by the dim twilight they put in the cord and put on the beds and then Sammy left him and he made up the bed. Then he went to the bookcase and commenced putting up the books and papers, in the dark. I let him work a while and then set a light in the room and he returned them all nicely to their places. Then he brought out the light, bade me farewell, and went to bed. I hoped he would come and acknowledge his fault, but did not think it best to draw this from him but to leave him entirely to his own thoughts. It was a crisis to which he had been for some time tending and I think it will do him good.

“Should this record meet his eye in future years, I doubt not that he will gratefully acknowledge that his mother did him no injustice and that her firmness helped him to overcome his obstinacy.”

If Mrs. Chace's son Sam was the child of her heart, Arnold soon became and ever after remained the filial staff on which her nature rested. Sam was beautiful and amiable, Arnold was a student, and the two brothers were devoted to each other. They never had a quarrel in their lives, a fact which certainly testifies much both as to their characters and to the whole family atmosphere, although Sam did once say to his mother, “No, Arnold and I have never quarreled, but it is because I always let him have his own way.”

When the boys were respectively thirteen and eleven, Mrs. Chace sent them to a boarding school kept by Rev. William S. Hayward in Hopedale, Massachusetts. Here boys and girls, colored and white, were received as pupils, and one of the moral questions presented to the school for debate was whether it would be wrong to tell a lie to a slaveholder and thus start him on a false scent, if he were hunt-

ing for a runaway slave. Abolitionists were a very scrupulous folk. The Hopedale teachers and most of the scholars decided that a lie was *always* a sin, but the prettiest girl in the school, Lilla Joy, announced that in such a case she "should risk it" and tell the lie.

The boys brought notions back from this school, and so about this time it was decided to make in the Chace dining room the great change of custom which distinguishes the middle of that century from any other epoch in American history. Old habit had lingered in that dining room a little unduly, yet not reprehensibly long. It yielded now, and the family began to eat with silver and no more with steel-tined, ivory-handled forks,—that is, all but Mr. Chace; he never would wield a fork with a flat, spoon-like handle,—not he!

In 1857 Mr. Chace began to build a stone house on the Smithfield side of the Blackstone River. Mrs. Chace took her children to the spot and held a family ceremony when the northwest corner stone of the barn was laid. The house was all built by day-paid labor. Mrs. Chace wanted the interior finished in varnished chestnut wood. Her husband bought the lumber in small quantities, here and there, as he could find what suited him, inspecting every plank and purchasing only such as were perfectly sound and had the most beautiful grain. The planks were prepared for use by carpenters at the house, and all carving and shaping were done there by hand. During the financial panic of 1857 work was stopped for a time, but it was soon resumed. There had been much to do in filling up of the lot as well as in building of the house, and it all took so much time that, when a few rooms only were finished, the family moved in, early in 1858, and the carpenters and varnishers worked on for six months longer.

Mrs. Chace brought vines and shrubbery from the Cumberland house garden, and had them set out around the new

house. For two or three years more, there was a great deal of garden platting, orchard planting, pathway making, sodding, and bank and wall building. Of the way of life in this period, Mrs. Chace said: "I tell Samuel that I should like to have something done. He always says that to do it would cost more money than he can afford to spend just then. I always accept his decision and never speak of the thing again. He never speaks of it again. The next I know it is being done in the most expensive manner possible."

So the family settled into what I shall henceforth designate as the Homestead.

CHAPTER EIGHTH

ANTI-SLAVERY FRIENDSHIPS; GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON married Helen Benson, whose elder sister, Charlotte, had previously married Henry Anthony, son of the Uncle Joseph and Aunt Mary whom Mrs. Chace had visited in Providence soon after her own marriage. It is probable that Mrs. Chace knew Helen Benson before the latter became Mrs. Garrison, and she once spoke to me of her "exceeding prettiness."

When I could not have been more than six years old, Mrs. Chace told me of William Lloyd Garrison as other women tell a child of George Washington or of St. John the Apostle, and I thenceforth considered him a perfect being. I must have imbibed that notion from her representations.

In the same period she told me of his difficulty with N. P. Rogers, which she said was "very sad." She did not express any opinion about the merits of the case,— only a consciousness of its calamity. She told me, also, of Mr. Garrison's break with Frederick Douglass, and as to that, although Garrisonian herself, in relation to the Disunion and voting issues between the two men, her personal sympathy was decidedly with Douglass. She said: "Douglass had been very strongly Garrisonian. He changed his opinion. Some of the Abolitionists said he had not honestly changed it; but that he thought it would open a career for himself to join the voting party. He was very indignant, and he has never since been willing to see his old Garrisonian friends. He will not come into their meetings. I suppose that is why

he never comes now to see me. He used to be a special friend of mine." She said, in the tone that suggests but does not quite make a criticism, "It seems like a fault in Garrison, that he is so severe upon people who differ with him, but it is the only fault he has."

Once she said naively, "It seems strange that Garrison should be so much better than I am, since he is younger."

Mr. Garrison was not younger than Mrs. Chace, but she then thought he was.

I never had any reason to suppose that any personal bitterness developed between Mr. Garrison and Arnold Buffum because the latter went into the Liberty Party, but there must have been regret on both sides for the divergence. I heard Mr. Garrison, in about 1861, speak very affectionately and gratefully of Arnold Buffum. "I remember," he said to Mrs. Chace, "the day your father came into my office and offered to help me."

My own first recollection of Mr. Garrison is of seeing him come up the aisle in a Providence hall and greet Mrs. Chace. He seldom attended an anti-slavery meeting in Providence. It was suggested that he avoided public appearance in that city because the Anthonys lived there, and as they were not much in sympathy with his opinions, he did not want to irritate them by the promulgation of his ideas in their vicinity, lest it should make a breach between them and his wife; but I do not know that he was influenced by any such motive.

Once, when Mr. Garrison was at a Rhode Island convention, Mrs. Chace was moved by a desire to enjoy more and work less than had been her wont. Anti-slavery meetings offered, in truth, to many ostracized Abolitionists their most precious social opportunity. Mrs. Chace had long been the secretary of such meetings, and had duly prepared reports of them for the *Liberator*. She told Mr. Garrison that she

did not want to do this work on that one occasion; she wanted to feel free to talk with her friends and to hear the speeches. The Leader listened gravely to her plea, and answered only, "There is no discharge from this warfare."

Mrs. Chace uttered not a protesting word. She took her implements, wound up her faculties to the accustomed pitch, and performed her task.

Her feeling for Mr. Garrison was one of strong personal friendship, touched by a reverence which made it akin to her religious impulses; and in the hours of her later bereavements, she always wanted Mr. Garrison to come to her house of mourning,—and he always came.

May I intrude myself into this story so far as to say that, from my earliest childhood, I not only revered Mr. Garrison, I loved him warmly with tender, filial affection, and I have seldom, in my entire life, been happier than his fatherly smile sometimes made me.

Mrs. Chace had some early acquaintance with the Hutchinson family who traveled over the country for years as an anti-slavery concert troupe. There were thirteen Hutchinson brothers and sisters, and once Mrs. Chace heard a dozen of them sing together at an anti-slavery meeting; but the ordinary band consisted of one sister and three or four of the more gifted brothers. One of them, Judson, was insane, and had been confined in an asylum. He spoke of his experience to Mrs. Chace; the pathos of his speech lingered in her memory, and I think I can repeat her version of it with all needful accuracy.

"Mrs. Chace," said the maniac minstrel, "if you ever have a relative who is insane, shut him up in your own house, in your cellar or your garret, but let him see your countenance once a day; don't send him to an asylum."

Charles C. Burleigh was a prominent Garrisonian. He

had a long beard, and he wore his auburn hair in womanish ringlets. Mobs hooted at his appearance, but, really, had it not been eccentric, it would have been extremely handsome. He was a very eloquent speaker, possessing an excellent mind, and his oddity never in the least disturbed the serenity of Mrs. Chace's regard for him.

I once heard her speak to him concerning the theme of Plumly's poem, "Abdel-Hassan," published in the January number of the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1860. "Does good always come out of wrong and evil?" she asked.

"There are only two creeds possible," he answered. "We must hold one or the other; either good comes out of evil, or there is no God."

Abby Kelley Foster sometimes sat with Mrs. Chace and told of the insult and outrage which had met her speaking effort for the slave, in those evil days when men said brutally that no modest woman would speak on a public platform. As Abby talked, Mrs. Chace saw the tears in those heroic eyes which had faced the jeering crowd; and so seeing, she doubtless girded her soul for the long, later labor of her maturer life to gain for women the right to help humanity in every way they could.

Charles Lenox Remond was an educated, Northern-born colored man. He was very dark, but he had a thin face with features of the Grecian type. He bore about with him, like a ceaseless neuralgic pain, the consciousness that he was the object of a hateful race prejudice. Mrs. Chace suffered sympathetically with him. Once he and some other Abolitionists were visitors in her home. They were all to go to a meeting in the Public Hall. When the moment arrived to start, Remond was missing. The party went without him, and reaching the hall found him there. He had slipped out of the house and gone alone. He was a gentleman, and, lest his companionship should embarrass them, he shrank from

walking on the street even with the white men and women who would gladly have gone with him.

One day he occupied a seat by himself in a railroad car. There were no empty seats, but several half-filled like his own. A very untidy "fellow of the baser sort" came in, walked by all the other vacant places, looked at Remond, and sat down by him. It is possible that he did this because he was moved by kindly impulse, but Remond believed that the man knew himself to be so unlovely in aspect and odor that he dared not thrust his disagreeable presence on any white person, but thought himself good enough to sit by a "nigger."

"Mrs. Chace," said Remond, haughtily telling the incident, "I think I have overcome any feeling of contempt for a man because he is poor or because he is ignorant, but *dirt* is as offensive to me as to anybody."

Henry C. Wright was a unique figure even in the unique Abolition group. To describe him adequately in this sketch of Mrs. Chace's environment is impossible. I can say only, that he was a large, powerfully built man, who might well have been a soldier, and was a most determined non-resistant; a lover of children and of the society of women, who, having made a marriage the conditions of which he did not know how to manage, had no home after early manhood; an Orthodox clergyman, "who had lost his parish, it was said, for the unclerical act (in those days) of swimming across the Connecticut River"; and having become too heretical to get other pulpits, in later days took Spiritualism for his religion. His speech was slow and slightly pompous. His social experience was wide in both England and America, but it was an experience with many sorts and grades of "reformers" and "cranks," rather than with worldly aristocrats, fashion followers, conservative scholars or business experts. He was the only person, man, woman or child,

whom I ever heard speak to or of Mr. Garrison as "William." Mr. Wright was a favorite with Mrs. Chace's children because he held sportive sessions with them, which he and they called "rollicking conventions." But when this youngster crowd had grown older, their interest fell away from him or his from them. He passed his last years with the Kenyons in Pawtucket, but we saw little of him.

A strange, a good, almost a great, not always a wise man, Henry Clarke Wright labored on earth to diffuse peace and good will among its inhabitants,—lived in a little mystery, and passed to boundless mystery; but he announced his belief thus, "I belong to this globe; my existence, in the body or out of the body, will always be connected with this planet."

Although the women anti-slavery speakers were held to be such daring innovators upon custom, and such reckless trampers upon propriety, they really did not, except as one or two wore the Bloomer costume, do things which today any fully adult American woman would hesitate for a moment to do. Few of them ever took a lecturing journey alone. The Grimké sisters always went together. Abby Kelley made one short summer pilgrimage alone through obscure rural hamlets, when she first began her work for the slave, and before she was an agent of the Anti-Slavery Societies. She never afterwards went without a woman companion till she married Stephen S. Foster, and I think after that, if he was not with her, some woman was always her comrade. Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam were inseparable anti-slavery pilgrims. Sallie spoke in the meetings, Miss Putnam sold tracts and managed the necessary business of their operations. A young colored woman, Frances Ellen Watkins, stayed for some days at Mrs. Chace's in about 1856. She had her little girl with her—a sufficient chaperon. I believe, however, that when Lucy Stone came in that same

period, she was alone. Of course, Sojourner Truth, the African Sibyl, came unaccompanied to Valley Falls. The Chaces had given to the Baptists the land on which to build their church, but the Union-saving deacons refused its use for Anti-Slavery meetings, and Mrs. Chace was disgusted for life. Sojourner came to the Cumberland house and said she wanted to speak in the Baptist meeting house. Mrs. Chace thought that if she had such desire, she would better go herself to the deacons and ask for the free use of the vestry. The marvelous old Negro woman went, and returning, surprised her hostess by saying that she had won the diaconal permission. She settled herself to await the appointed hour, and whatever she said showed that she expected to have a large audience. Mrs. Chace grew worried lest she should be grieved by disappointment, and thought it kindest to prepare her for what was likely to be the result of her effort to get up a meeting in Valley Falls. She described the general attitude of the villagers and said Sojourner must not be troubled if only a few persons came to the vestry.

"Bless yer," answered the seeress, "I never bothers myself about things of that sort. If the Lord sees fit to send me anywhere to speak, an' don't see fit to send anybody to hear me, it's no concern of mine."

Sojourner had her large audience, but I cannot tell how or why the crowd was got together.

William Wells Brown was a mulatto. Born a slave in Kentucky, he escaped in early manhood, acquired some little education, gained his legal freedom by purchase, and was a delegate sent by the American Peace Society to a Peace Congress held in Paris in 1849. I remember him as an agreeable and handsome man who enjoyed and added to the minor pleasantries of daily occurrence. When he came to Valley Falls he was a guest of the Chace family, but he fell in

love with a sixteen years' old Irish serving maid in the house.

Mrs. Chace broke off the affair. It always seemed to me that she acted a little arbitrarily. The girl was perfectly willing to marry Mr. Brown, considered him "a gentleman," and was probably modestly in love with him. It is likely that she would have made him an excellent wife, and would not have become dissatisfied because of his mixed blood.

This incident is worth noting since, as I gathered from Mrs. Chace's own after account, she did not object to the marriage because of the racial difference, but because she thought that Mr. Brown was superior to the girl. "It would not have been well for him," she said, "to marry M. She could not have associated with the people that he did."

During the Civil War, William Wells Brown, Charles Lenox Remond, and the greatest of all the colored Abolitionists, Frederick Douglass, did yeoman service in recruiting colored soldiers to serve the country which had denied to them the common rights and common privileges of humanity.

The friendship between Mrs. Chace and Douglass was, I believe, touched to deeper regard than were most of her friendships. I saw it in the later years, but I know of its early stages only by her report. His was not a figure in the household circle during the decade of 1850, but his "Narrative" was on the bookshelf, his general story, her interest in him, and his portrait were all known to me before I was ten years old. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that he began even then to seem to me what contact with him made him seem yet more fully,—that is, one of the most marvelous personalities I have ever known. He was an embodied miracle.

Mrs. Chace's sister Lydia heard Douglass make the speech recorded in the "Life of Garrison" and in his own Autobiography, when, although he himself was mainly conscious

of trepidation, his genius revealed itself to his auditors like the flaming of a comet, outshining all the stars. It was not long after that sudden and amazing revelation that Wendell Phillips said of him, "This boy just fresh from slavery surpasses us all."

Lydia Buffum told Mrs. Chace about the young orator, who must have had then the strangely corrugated brow and the maddened eyes which are shown in his earlier portraits. He had fled from slavery only three years previously. He was still a legal bondman. He could not safely tell his original name to Massachusetts men, he could not safely tell his birthplace anywhere under the Star-Spangled Banner. He had taught himself to read and write, and he was only twenty-three when his brilliant spirit flamed above the horizon and all the country began to stare and to listen.

In the years immediately succeeding his speaking advent in 1841, he was much in Rhode Island, and the Chaces became his special friends. He mentions both Harvey and Samuel Chace in his autobiography, and Mrs. Chace was to him like an elder sister. He told her the story of his slave life and how he had worked over spelling books at night after days of manual labor.

Fifteen months before her own death, that is, in the year 1898, Mrs. Chace wrote thus:

"Parker Pillsbury was one of the most self-sacrificing and eloquent of the anti-slavery speakers. Once, when at my house in the autumn on his way to some other point, I asked him at what time he would give us a lecture. He said he should attend the annual meeting of the Society the next May in New York, and could come to Rhode Island on his return from that. So the day was fixed and he went away.

"The winter months rolled by and the early spring, and I received no word from him. The day came on which he

had promised to appear. I had engaged the hall and advertised the lecture. As the sun went down I began to feel anxious, and finally decided that it was hardly possible that he could have remembered the engagement. It grew dark, and I began to plan for announcing the failure of the meeting, when, hearing a click at the gate, I looked out and saw Parker Pillsbury walking into the yard. If he had dropped from the skies I could not have been more surprised. He was one of the never-failing kind."

Captain Drayton of the *Pearl* did not become, in any social sense, one of Mrs. Chace's friends, yet I cannot forbear mentioning him in this connection. He was the skipper who tried to carry seventy fugitive slaves, on his vessel, down the river away from Washington and unto freedom. He was captured and he and his mate Sayres were imprisoned in the capital of the Union. After they had been in jail several years, Charles Sumner and Miss Dix procured a pardon for them. President Fillmore seems to have given it in a trying-to-atone spirit for his signature to the Fugitive Slave Bill.

One day Mrs. Chace told me that Captain Drayton was coming to the house. I can fix the date of his visit only by general memory, but I think it must have been within a year or two of his release from prison. I remember myself as very small, and standing for a moment in Captain Drayton's presence. Mrs. Chace sat near him. I remember him, this hero of recklessly noble effort, as a middle-aged, bearded, rugged but not rough-looking man of medium size. I think he stayed only an hour or two, and I do not know for what purpose he came, but I presume that it was on some anti-slavery errand. Of such incident and such story telling to her children, and doubtless to her Valley Falls neighbors, were woven the warp and woof of Mrs. Chace's household life.

It must have been not long before he went to Europe for the one holiday of his life, that Wendell Phillips first came to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Chace. They had not yet moved from Fall River. He came with one or two other Abolitionists to address an anti-slavery meeting. It was about the time when he began his obscure work as organizer of local anti-slavery societies—that work of his brilliant youth whereof little record has been made on the pages of popular history and biography.

His story had preceded him to Fall River. His Faneuil Hall speech, and the romance of his marriage to an invalid girl, who had helped convert him to the Anti-Slavery gospel, these things were known to the Fall River Abolitionists before he came, and they felt that a valuable adherent had been gained for the cause; but while he was in her house, Mrs. Chace saw him chiefly as a gay “beautiful” boy. “He was chilly that night,” she said, “and made fun of himself. Our sitting room was heated by a stove. He said that stove was his best friend, and hovered over it, made believe hug it, and tried to get behind it.”

He walked with her to the anti-slavery meeting. “I would rather be whipped than speak tonight,” he declared.

She never saw his secluded wife, and the only time she was inside his house she was there with Mr. and Mrs. Garrison, and it chanced that she did not then see him. She went to watch from the parlor windows the march through Essex Street of Colonel Shaw’s colored regiment, and he was upstairs looking out of the window of his wife’s room. Although the acquaintance between Mr. Phillips and Mrs. Chace never proceeded far towards intimacy, I always perceived in her a peculiar tenderness of feeling for him. He was universally so gracious that it was not always easy to distinguish between his affection and his kindness, but it seemed to me that he felt positive friendship for her

and he certainly spoke several times to her of his deeper feelings.

One thing I noticed, because it was an unusual phenomenon in her. She never, in my presence, spoke a single criticizing word of him. I know that she did not always agree with him, because, apart from discussion of his thought, she uttered opposite opinion,—but when she might have said, “Mr. Phillips is wrong or mistaken now,” she said nothing. I believe that as near as such vision is possible to an adult, serious-natured, unsuperstitious person, she saw Mr. Phillips with eyes that discerned in him no flaw or blemish.

She did not reverence him in quite the religious way that she revered Mr. Garrison; she did not feel herself to be his social comrade quite as she felt herself to be with Mr. Garrison; yet, although she never said so, I believe she loved him as more sensitive to his gladness or sorrow and felt freer of speech with him than with Mr. Garrison.

I saw Mr. Phillips first when I was not more than nine years old and Mrs. Chace had me with her on the train bound for Worcester, where we were to visit her Earle relatives. He entered the car at Woonsocket. I noted her surprised gladness as she exclaimed, “Wendell Phillips,” and was amused because the instant she saw him she ceased entirely to notice a kinsman who came in a moment before he did, and I saw that neither she nor Mr. Phillips hesitated in action. He sat down at once in the overturned seat facing her, and they began eager talk about I know not what; I think, however, that it was a discussion of somebody’s recent action as to some anti-slavery issue.

I have a distinct image of him in my mind, as I saw him then, with his blue eyes and his hair the color of reddish amber. I perceived the easy fit of his garments. He looked elegant, though he wore a costume wholly strange then to

childish eyes, accustomed to the garb of villagers and of Quakers;—the gray overcoat, the gray sombrero hat of soft felt,—he wore them on this day, and they looked just like the similar garments he wore when, twenty-six years later, I saw him last.

In order to give unity of effect, it has been deemed best to divide Mrs. Chace's correspondence for the years between 1849 and 1860 into two groups and present them separately; one group illustrates her personal life and her interests other than anti-slavery, and the second group is given *en masse*, to indicate the tireless effort which she and other persons were making to develop Anti-Slavery principles.

FROM A DRAFT OF A LETTER BY MRS. CHACE, PROBABLY
TO JAMES LAWTON

"*Valley Falls, 5th mo., 21st, 1850.* In the recollections of my childhood, when my sisters and myself were often seated around our mother, as she held the baby on her lap, listening to the tales of other times, there are none more deeply impressed on my mind than [the story] she [told] how in her early youth an elder sister, whom she dearly loved, had removed with her husband and three small children away to 'The Ohio'; how, with their own horses and wagon, they traveled through forests and over mountains, and sometimes slept as well as they could in their own vehicle; how sickness came and attacked the youngest child, whom finally they laid in the grave, and, with sorrowing hearts, went on without, till after a toilsome journey they reached its end in the wilderness of the West.

"That elder sister of my dear mother, I always regarded as a heroine, and those children and all who came after her as objects of interest and affection.

"The impression I received then was that an almost interminable distance separated them from us; and I had that

impression for many years; but since facilities for communication have so increased, your family and ours should not remain strangers."

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. LYDIA BUFFUM READ

"*Valley Falls, 10th, 13th, 1850.* If thee could fully realize how every day the electric telegraph of my thoughts carries over to thee my enquiries concerning thy spiritual and physical welfare, thou would oftener return some definite answers thereto. I cannot but believe that one of the reasons why I so often find myself dwelling upon thee is that thy spirit is also enquiring for mine. Dost thou come to me in spirit, dear sister, many times in the day? Oh, this time and space, and these heavy, mortal bodies, what hindrances they are! How we shall wonder, one of these days, that we ever so dreaded to throw them off! Well, we have much to do here, if we do our duty before we go.

"Rebecca will have told you something of our Convention, but thou must read my report of it in the *Liberator*, and try to imagine how much I enjoyed it, and how delightful it was to have every room in the house occupied, all the spare ones with such good company."

MRS. CHACE TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

"*Valley Falls, 1st mo., 19, 1851.* Ever since the arrival of Geo. Thompson in this country, I have been waiting for the announcement, that the friends of Human Rights in Providence and Pawtucket had engaged him to speak. But I have waited in vain. I venture to ask if there be now, one evening that he can spare and come to Valley Falls.

"I cannot promise much *financially*; though in this respect, we usually do better than we anticipate. If he will give us a lecture either upon British India, or reforms in Great Britain, we would charge our usual fee of admission,

and give him all we get; and a few of us would give more. If he prefers to speak on American Slavery, I suppose we should have to make the meeting free, and trust to a collection. If thou or any other friend would come with him, we should be all the more glad. An Anti-Slavery meeting here on First Day would be well attended."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*Brooklyn, 15, 3rd mo., 1851.* Since I last wrote thee, I have visited the great metropolis of this 'refuge for the oppressed of every clime' but our own. The only topic of interest there was, 'How shall we keep the iron grasp on the enslaved, and how shall we get rid of the free?'

"I heard it asserted there, that the colored people are a distinct race of beings, not the descendants of Adam, but a lower, more degraded, corrupt and vicious order of animals than we, who, they maintain, all sinned and became *totally depraved* in the fall of our first parent.

"On my way home, I spent a first-day in Philadelphia,—attended a most lifeless Quaker meeting in the morning, and a most life stirring Methodist meeting of colored people in the afternoon. The contrast was truly a remarkable one."

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. LYDIA BUFFUM READ

"Hast thou heard Henry Ward Beecher's lecture on Character? I went into Providence to hear and well worth going for was it."

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. REBECCA B. SPRING

"This Fugitive Slave business is dreadful, and where it will end, Heaven only knows. Thou hopes I shall see F. B. [Fredrika Bremer] and knows I should love her. There is no probability of my having an opportunity, and I feel far



GEORGE THOMPSON

less desirous than when she first came. Less sentiment and more principle, less noble words and more noble deeds are what I look for to make the world better."

MRS. REBECCA BUFFUM SPRING TO MRS. CHACE

"I found a long, lovely letter from dear Fredrika Bremer from Liverpool. She had read on the passage, 'that pause of ten days on the deep,' the report of the last Woman's Convention and was deeply impressed with the high tone, particularly of Mrs. Davis' report."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*New York, 7th mo., 31, 1852.* Indeed I very much doubt whether the spirits of our departed friends can with any certainty predict future events. I should be exceedingly pleased with an opportunity to sit in the Circle with you and hear the communications from above. There is something in it truly wonderful, and entirely unexplained by all who deny its being a communication from departed friends."

MRS. CHACE TO ONE OF HER SISTERS

"*Valley Falls, 4th mo., 18th.* I wish to state to thee a case which I think demands attention from the comfortably situated members of *our family*.

"When we came to this town there lived here an aged widow who was the daughter of Thomas Arnold, half-brother to Grandmother Buffum. She was infirm and was supported by her daughter, an unmarried woman who worked in the factory. I occasionally visited them. The mother, though inferior to our noble Grandmother, strongly reminded me of her, in looks, voice, and the general tenor of her remarks.

"The daughter was a good, self-sacrificing woman, sensible, though uneducated, then near fifty years old. She was

in poor health, but still worked for their daily bread, doing the service of the house besides, and going out nights at every suffering woman's call for aid, with or without pay, but usually without.

"At length, her mother became so ill that she was obliged to leave the factory and devote her whole time to her, and spend for her what little she had been able to save. And this she did with heroic self-devotion, replying when some persons advised her to send her mother to the poorhouse that she might earn something to support herself with in her old age, 'I will take care of my mother as long as she lives and if in my old age I am obliged to go to the poorhouse myself it will be a comfort to me that I never sent her there.'

"After her mother's death, being worn and broken down, she went to live with a half niece who was willing to give her her board for what she could do. Since that time she has occasionally worked in the factory to provide herself with clothing; but during the last two years she has been unable to do so, being often sick and always feeble.

"My desire now is to collect from her cousins a sum of money sufficient to clothe her comfortably and respectably for the year to come and for other little necessary expenses; and for this purpose, I have written to several. I doubted whether I better write to thee because you have so much else to do, but as it is a family matter I concluded it was best."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*31 May, 1853.* The church should be an organization of Christians in harmonious union for doing good. Gerritt Smith and others have issued a call for a Christian Convention to meet at Syracuse on the 8th and 9th of June, to organize an Anti-Sectarian Church of all who love God and man. If it were near here, I should be glad to attend and unite with them in carrying out their plan."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*New York, 23 Dec., 1853.* On the 13th instant, I entered my 72nd year. Thy Mother is two months older, yet excepting the effect of the paralytic stroke on thy mother, we both enjoy rather an unusual share of physical activity, and probably as great a share of tranquillity of mind in anticipation of coming repose as is usual with people of our age.

"In regard to our remaining destiny in this world, we leave that in the hands of God, trusting in Him, in full faith that so far as we do the best we can from day to day, all will be well and right."

The original letter from which a few sentences are here copied was evidently handed on by its recipient to Mrs. Chace.

PARKER PILLSBURY TO DANIEL MITCHELL

"Our excellent friend Mrs. Chace at the Falls made enquiry about a Lyceum lecture I have on the French Revolution. She said she was very desirous I should give it in that village. I will come prepared to do so. She needn't think *too much* about the *price*."

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Nov. 27th, 1853.* Pardon me for once, if my theme be a novel one, and I will come directly to it.

"My health is very poor; so much so as to compel me to abandon the Lecturing Field, for the present. And I have long wished to see the other side of the water. But until now, there seemed for the like of me, no sort of opportunity. Just at this moment however, when I had resigned my agency and was about going into 'Dry Dock for repairs,' a friend

offers to make my passage over to Liverpool rather easy if I will bear him company. And you will readily see that it is not easy to resist the temptation.

"My health needs and must have immediate attention.

"There is but one reason for not going and that is, a want of what Kossuth termed modestly 'material aid.' And though you are always being prayed to and almost always answering the prayer in accordance with the wish, still, I did not know but you might be disposed to aid a little in setting me on 'my way rejoicing.'

"I am free to confess that I have some means at my command. But I am to leave a feeble wife and little daughter at home and so do not feel at liberty to appropriate what, in case of my being lost, would leave them wholly destitute. What we have belongs to me *and* them, not to *me* alone. This, I believe, gives you the whole of my present position of affairs.

"And though I am largely indebted to you already, and have the most ample evidence of your regard for me personally, and, better yet, for the Cause to which I have consecrated my life, still, should you find it convenient to comply with my proposal, I think I could exercise for you still more gratitude and affection than now."

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MR. AND MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Dec. 18th, 1853.* Your favor was received and, as I hope and trust, not without some devout thankfulness on my part. I shall try to deserve your friendship, by a most unreserved consecration of myself and all pertaining to me, to those causes of benevolence and humanity which you both love and labour to promote.

"And whether abroad or at home, the remembrance of your kindness will be sunshine to my spirit, and if the true affection of one so humble as myself can be of the least

consideration to you, it will give me the most heartfelt pleasure."

It is well to state that the names, Raritan Bay Union, Eagleswood and Perth Amboy, used in letters of this period all mean the same place. The R. B. U. was the name of the Community organization which for a short time owned the park known as Eagleswood; and that park, which finally became the private property of Marcus Spring, was near the town of Perth Amboy.

In 1854 Mrs. Chace visited the Raritan Bay Union, where her father and mother were living, and also her sisters Rebecca and Lydia and their husbands. Mrs. Chace had her two older sons with her. Mr. Chace's nephew Jonathan escorted her and her boys to New York and took them across a portion of the city in a hack.

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

"*May 17th, 1854.* The hackman carried us to the end of the pier, but could get no farther; it was entirely filled with carts and wagons going both ways, people, heaps of coal, lumber, etc. Jonathan got a policeman to go before us with his sceptre of authority and fight our way. So we walked behind him and without much difficulty reached the boat."

Apparently in the house occupied by the Union, there was a common dining room, where some peculiar custom prevailed, for after describing her arrival at Eagleswood, she says of the next day:

"Sammy and I ate breakfast with Father and Mother, and at four o'clock went down to the public table. I didn't like to hear it proclaimed how many cents' worth everything

I ate was, but I think likely it is a good way when one gets used to it."

There is plenty of sweet, womanly babble in this letter, such as:

"Tell Sophia to get preserve from up garret any time she likes, only not to let the children eat it much, and to make herself comfortable. I had so much thinking to do when I was coming away that I fear I did not provide sufficiently for the comfort of everybody.

"I want to see them [the little ones left at home] dreadfully. When I heard the children's voices all about the rooms this morning it almost made me want to fly.

"Sammy has explored about everything by this time, I think. He has been on top of the new house."

A valise had evidently been lost on the journey.

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

"*R. B. U., 2nd day eve.* I received thy lengthy epistle of Seventh-day this afternoon, and was much comforted by its variety of interesting intelligence. I hope thy business came to no disastrous consequences by thy long neglect while writing it. Sammy had to go to bed today and have his shirt, drawers and stockings washed, having fallen in the mud on the shore. What shall I do if their clothes do not come? And what grieves me most is that Arnold's beautiful worsted work on which he had bestowed so much affectionate labor and skill was in the valise. I did not feel like crying until I remembered that; and then I could scarcely avoid it.

"Tell Sophia it is beautiful here and I wish she could be here with us. I think of her when I am walking about the grounds,—how she would enjoy exploring all the regions round about. But in the house, it is the same as everywhere;

all have so much to do, there is no time for amusement; they do not even meet together in the evenings except occasionally, each family occupying its own rooms as though they were in separate houses.

“There are fourteen children, and they seem to have a very good time playing very harmoniously out of doors. I asked if they did not want a school for them and was answered that they did not. It was better for them to be in the open air at play.”

MRS. CHACE TO SOPHIA FORD

“*R. B. U., 14th, 5th month, '54.* I did not go to the Anniversary meeting, for I was not well. I think now, if Fourth-day morning is pleasant, I shall go to New York and spend most of that day at the Crystal Palace. I want to give the boys an opportunity to see some sights. Father thinks he will go with us. I want to tell thee a great deal of my observations on things as they are manifested here. I am very critically observant, and as the friends in S——d said, ‘I find some things pretty well, and some things not so well.’ We have some spiritual manifestations and I am enjoying my visit very much. I go round the house visiting and I am in harmony with all,—even those who are not in harmony with one another. Kisses for the dear children.”

The members of the Community at that time mostly abode in one long, hotel-like dwelling, hence Mrs. Chace’s reference to going “about the house.”

HENRY C. WRIGHT TO MR. AND MRS. CHACE

“*Boston, July 17th, 1854.* I expect to be in Pawtucket next week Tuesday and stay there till Monday. I should like to come out and hold a meeting at the Falls at 5 P.M., to speak on the ‘Domestic Relations and the Rights of Chil-

dren.' The rights of no class of human beings, to *life* and *health* and happiness, are so grossly violated as *Infants*. Have they a right to life? Why, then, are so many slain? Have they a right to *healthy* minds? Why, then, do so many start in life with tendencies to Idiocy, and Insanity? Have they a right to happiness? Why, then, is Misery the birth-right portion of so many? The Rights of Childhood,—What so sacred, yet what so frequently and terribly outraged? Who does it, *God* or the Parents?"

The date of the following letter is not quite legible, but is probably 1854, and the use of the phrase "your triumph," instead of "our triumph," makes it seem likely that the reference is to Woman's Rights rather than to Anti-Slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO MRS. CHACE

"I am sorry I cannot be with you tomorrow. My heart will be there, full of the warmest wishes for your full and speedy success.

"Every one who wishes and works for a purer civilization is on your side. Every one who longs for the permanence of Republican institutions is on your side. Every lover of fair play and equality is with you. The narrow, the timid, those faithless to the principles which underlie our civilization, the ignorant, the evil minded, are your opponents.

"But God rules, and light must prevail. Any one, who can discern the signs of the times, sees the dawn of that day when men throwing off prejudice and spurious refinement and squeamish caprice, and rising to the level of American citizens and Christians, will hail your triumph."

ARNOLD BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*Perth Amboy, 4, 3rd mo., 1855.* Our religious meetings and School [Theodore D. Weld's] are of the most progres-

sive Christian character of anything I have ever seen. Jesus Christ was the greatest progressionist that was ever on this earth. Next to him as a progressionist was George Fox."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Sept. 6, 1855.* Your letter is just received. I lament to hear of the illness of your beloved father, but trust he will have fully recovered by the time this reaches you.

"In its earliest and most critical days, the Anti-Slavery Cause was most deeply indebted to him for the moral courage he displayed, and the eloquence he used in its behalf; and manfully did he uphold its banner 'through evil report,' and many perils, and a thousand fiery trials.

"Ever since, that cause has received his zealous aid; and his testimony has never been wanting in behalf of the oppressed, cost what it might to him or his interests.

"Though we have differed somewhat as to means, we have never been divided on the vital question of immediate and unconditional emancipation.

"May his declining years be rendered in the highest degree felicitous by the remembrance of what he has done for the liberation and improvement of a race 'meted out and trodden under foot.' Give him my kindest salutations, my most grateful recollections, and my best wishes for his complete recovery. God grant we may all live to witness the emancipation of all in bondage! But how portentous and awful is the present aspect of our national affairs! 'What shall the end of these things be?'

"You write with reference to my speaking in Providence. Indeed, Providence is a city hard to be affected. I never go to it with an elastic spirit, as I do to many other places. There seems to be a general determination not to hear. Still, that is no reason why we should 'give up the ship,'—and I

admire your zeal and perseverance in that direction. Nevertheless, I pray thee have *me* excused, if possible."

ROBERT F. WALLCUT TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, 11 Jan., 1857.* A most delightful occasion for us to have had you with us, was the late quarter century festival of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

"We have felt under great obligations to Mrs. Magill, who, with her husband, interested themselves for our daughter Annie. I am happy to find that she [Annie] has been true to her convictions in her treatment of the colored children who came under her charge. Colorphobia is an ugly beast for any one in her position to take by the horns. It is something to be thankful for, that she has been able to maintain her anti-slavery position without being crushed under it, as in many other places she would have been.

"If it should ever be in our power to pass through Valley Falls, depend upon it, you will receive a visit from us;—a visit which all the 'elect' of the Anti-Slavery faith, whom you have always so kindly entertained, assure me would be a most happy one."

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"*140 Fulton St., New York, Jan. 23, 1857.* I write in haste to know whether if the next national Woman's Rights convention should be held in Providence, you and Mr. Adams and other friends there could take the responsibility of securing a hall, advertising and attending to all the preliminaries of a *well got up convention*. It is a great labor, but it is your cause as well as mine. I suppose Paulina is not well enough to give it much care."

MRS. CHACE TO GEORGE D. PRENTICE

"*Valley Falls, R. I., 4th mo., 1857.* Although for more than thirty years no communication had passed between thyself and me until our very pleasant meeting in Providence, our youthful friendship had by no means passed from my memory, forming as it did an important part of my early life. During many of these years, I have been frequently apprised of thy existence, by the perusal of articles from the *Louisville Journal*, and by the evidence which often reached me that thou wert occupying a position of political distinction, yet I had no idea that thou continued aware of my existence; and I was greatly surprised that thou so immediately recognized me.

"Now, that we have met, and still had so little opportunity to talk over the past, and, by thy failure to return, were prevented from making the pilgrimage to Smithfield together,—in which I was greatly disappointed,—I feel a strong impulse to write to thee some of the many thoughts which filled my brain during our brief but very interesting interview.

"I had a strong desire to go to Smithfield with thee, for the sake of the past, but still stronger for the sake of the living present as it lies before us with its duties and its dangers; and for the sake of the future threatening as it now appears our misguided and unhappy country.

"George, my old friend and teacher, I wished to talk with thee alone of the great questions of this age and nation. Inheriting from my parents a love for the right, and from my father, especially, a disregard of popular opinion when that opinion is in favor of wrong, my mind has always been open to the unprejudiced consideration of any moral question which circumstances have brought before it. Thus I was prepared, as soon as I became aware that our whole nation was guilty of holding human beings as property, to

wash my own hands, as far as possible, of the guilt, to take the side of the oppressed, and to advocate in every way in my power their immediate and unconditional restoration to the natural and inalienable rights of man.

“For a long time I could not but suppose that other people when so informed would, like me, see only the path of ceasing to do wrong. In this I was disappointed. Most people had so many things to take into consideration, so many prejudices and fears to listen to before they could decide that it was safe to do right, that, after years of effort, I have been forced to believe that the people of this nation, having been for a long time endeavoring to reconcile right with wrong, have, by an inevitable law in morals, lost the power to discriminate between the two. Still, the truth and the right are not lost, and a crisis is approaching in which, after conflict, by another Divine law, the right will prevail and justice will be done. Whether this conflict shall be a peaceful one depends upon the influential to decide.

“My dear friend, I feel very much indebted to thee for the strong impulse which thy kindness and good taste gave, in my early youth, to my love for literature, a love which I have always found means to gratify; and it would be cause of great satisfaction to me, if I could repay thee therefor, by assisting thee in one step towards the advocacy of right on high moral ground, regardless of consequences; for there *are* no consequences worthy to be thought of in deciding whether we will do right or wrong.”

MRS. CHACE TO EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON

“*Valley Falls, 2nd mo., 1858.* It has been so much my fortune to hold unusual opinions, thereby rendering myself a sort of outlaw, that I feel very cautious how I venture to raise an issue between myself and the beloved few, who have hitherto sympathized with and encouraged me.

“I have learned to believe, that there can be but *one true* marriage, for any human soul, and that this is to be eternal; and it seems to me, that, when this has been attained on earth, to a certainty of conviction, there should, naturally, be no desire for a union with another. But this true union does not take place, in nine cases out of ten, and in such circumstances, the unsatisfied soul would, in case of separation by death, continue to seek its mate, and it seems perfectly natural and right, that trial after trial should thus be made.”

STEPHEN S. FOSTER TO MRS. CHACE

“*Aug. 15, 1858.* The only ties which bind me to this life are those of consanguinity and those are fast dissolving. This freedom from the fear of death, which was once a source of great wretchedness, I regard as one of the many compensations for my adherence to the anti-slavery cause.”

CHAPTER NINTH

ANTI-SLAVERY CORRESPONDENCE; DEATH OF ARNOLD BUFFUM

CYRUS M. BURLEIGH TO MR. CHACE

“*ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, Philadelphia, Nov. 2nd, 1850.* The Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair have resolved to apply to manufacturers, mechanics and artisans to furnish articles of their own production for their next fair, to be held in this city the week before Christmas.

“Can you not make a liberal donation of your goods to our fair? If you can also suggest this matter to other manufacturers or mechanics, and induce them to furnish something for the same object, you would do a good service for the Cause. I believe that by such application many might now be induced to give, without drawing away anything from the R. I. Fair, which I do not wish to do.

“Could not Elizabeth spend a half day now and then making such applications? I know her love for the Cause too well to doubt her willingness to do it, provided other duties will permit.”

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

“*Boston, Nov. 8th. 1850.* You will see by the *Liberator* that I am to reach your place on Tuesday and go to Seekonk on Wednesday;—and Mr. May said you would write to Seekonk and make some movement towards the arrangements there. I hope you will, for I don’t know man, woman or child, saint or sinner in the place.



Samuel B Chace

"If you have opportunity, please let Daniel Mitchell know of our meetings."

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH TO MRS. CHACE

"*Woonsocket, 2nd mo., 5th, 1851.* Amarancy Paine told me the other day that it was your wish to have me visit Valley Falls and hold a meeting on some First-day evening soon. I have therefore laid my plans with a view to being there on First-day evening next, the 9th inst., in season to begin to talk to the people there at 7 o'clock. If I should not get to your house by five or ten minutes before that hour, you may conclude that I shall not call there at all before the meeting, but shall have gone directly to the place of gathering."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Sept. 22.* Your letter announcing the death and burial of our beloved friend, Daniel Mitchell, is just received.

"I deeply regret, with you, that no reference was made at the funeral to his sympathetic interest in the cause of the oppressed. Why could not the speakers have made, at least, an allusion to it? Was it not his due? Oh, what a paralyzing influence is still exercised by slavery upon the Northern mind!"

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*July 8, 1854.* Stephen S. Foster and Abby K. Foster propose visiting Valley Falls, and holding an Anti-Slavery Meeting there on Sunday, July 16th, provided the arrangement is agreeable to you."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Leicester, July 10, 1854.* Yours of the 7th has just come to hand. If I had access to the *Liberator* books, I

might find for you names at Burlington. As it is, I recollect no person there whom I know. But in a late *Liberator* is an extract of a sermon preached at Burlington by Rev. Joshua Young. He is the Unitarian minister there. It seems he was in Boston during the week of the *Religious Anniversaries* (?) and of Anthony Burns' Delivery into Slavery, and he went home and preached a sermon which, from the extract in the *Liberator*, I judge to have been a very faithful one. I think I shouldn't hesitate in sending fugitives to his care.

"I hope you will not think I am exceeding my proper liberty, or that I am not charitable enough for the suffering fugitives, if I venture to suggest that, in these times, great care should be used in helping persons claiming to be fugitives. There have been bad impostors about. Our anti-slavery friends in Worcester were, very extensively, taken in lately by a fine looking colored man who told a very plausible story of his escape from Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Mr. Higginson, the Fosters, and many others, became deeply interested in him and urged him to make Worcester his residence (but he was unwilling), took great pains to provide for him the best way to Nova Scotia, where he had, he said, a brother. They aided him, by a course of much circumspection, to Portland. It turned out that he was a noted burglar flying from Western New York, with stolen goods in his possession. An officer of the law, in search of him, arrived in Worcester the evening of the very day on which the man had gone to Portland. The officer succeeded in convincing Stephen Foster, Mr. Higginson, and others, that the man was an impostor, and they put him at once upon the track; and the next day the colored man was arrested in Portland. He was taken to Western New York for trial, and lodged in Elmira jail. But I see, by a late paper, that he has broken jail and escaped. He is an expert fellow.

Pray pardon my long story. I feel that duty to the real fugitives makes it imperative on me to watch with the greatest care every case, and expose every deceiver that I can; and equally, that duty to the true friends of the fugitives demands that their sympathies and money should not be squandered upon knaves, but reserved for the truly necessitous. It was a good remark, by F. Douglass, that the colored people have proved their identity with the whites, by their very follies and crimes.

"Many thanks for your prompt action in regard to the Fosters' meeting."

TO MRS. CHACE

"*Providence, 11th mo., 3, 1854.* I received thine of the 29th ultimo. I am well aware [that] to the Christian the duty of freely bestowing of his pecuniary means, to promote his great Master's Cause, and the amelioration of the condition of his suffering fellow creatures, is frequently the companion of his thoughts; but among the varied claims, the American Anti-Slavery Society has not been associated with my own sense of obligation.

"Still I cannot comfortably refrain from enclosing \$5.00 as a manifestation of my regard for thy motive in applying to me.

"Small as it is, that it may aid the poor Slave is the desire of thy well wishing friend."

DAVID BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*Newport, 11th mo., 6th, 1854.* I received thine of the 31st ult. While I abominate the sin of holding my fellow beings in slavery, I have never felt it my duty to aid in a pecuniary [manner] directly Anti-Slavery Lectures; inasmuch, as, with few exceptions, the tone and manner of most

are not such as I could conscientiously subscribe to. I do not think any good comes of branding the Slaveholders in a mass with such harsh and opprobrious terms, as is too generally done.

"I remember once in a conversation with thee at your house, when I had been using similar language to the foregoing, that thou remarked, 'Why, Cousin David, I do not believe thee to be an Abolitionist;' to which I replied, that I would liberate all the slaves in the twinkling of an eye, and risk the consequences, if I had the power, and asked thee if any of you would go farther than that. Seeing the growing and grasping disposition manifested by the slaveholders and their Dough-face abettors in the free States is so manifest, I hereby forward a five dollar bill to thy care to be applied as thou mayst see meet in the furtherance of the deeply interesting cause of abolition.

"I am not without hope that the passage of the Nebraska Bill will ultimately prove favorable to the cause of emancipation,—as my honored father used sometimes to say, '*the worse, the better.*'"

E. C. CRANSTON TO MRS. CHACE

"Thy letter dated the 5th of 11th mo., 1854, I received and have endeavored to pay attention to thy request, but without much success as yet. The school house has not been opened for Anti-Slavery meetings for ten or twelve years. There was some trouble there with S. S. Foster, and the Slaterville Influence has for a long time closed the door of that house. I enclose a \$10.00 bill received of G. C. Ballou to redeem his pledge to Abby K. Foster."

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. SARAH TOBEY

"*Valley Falls, 15th, 12th mo., 1854.* I received thy letter a few days since, and I cannot feel quite satisfied with myself

without replying, especially as thou so very kindly urges me to come and tell thee if thou art wrong. This I would gladly do, but am at present so confined to my children (having no teacher or care-taker but myself) that it is out of my power.

"Dear Sarah, if thou 'really detests' slavery, and sincerely desires its abolition, if thou art continually distressed in all thy enjoyments, by the fact, that now, every day, millions of thy brothers and sisters are groaning in despair under the most cruel system of bondage that ever polluted our 'beautiful earth,' canst thou think of any better way to awaken the people to a knowledge thereof, and a determination to overthrow it, than *to talk about it*, and—as no one has time to go to every person,—to call meetings in which it may be talked about, and [in which] the question, Who is doing anything to uphold it, [may be] discussed?

"Suppose one of thy own darlings, those beautiful little girls of whom I hear, were playing before thy door, and a man should seize and run off with her. [If] hastening to her rescue, thou shouldst find the people, among whom he passed, were wholly indifferent to her cries and thy anguish, or aided him directly, wouldst thou not very naturally and rationally endeavor to arouse the indifferent by thy cries, and the coöperating by thy rebukes? If they assured thee thou wert only exasperating the kidnappers, wouldst thou heed them? Thy mother's heart will surely answer negatively to the question, 'Canst thou think of any better way than to plead earnestly?'

"So only is the American Anti-Slavery Society doing; making the case of the slave its own, remembering that the children thus doomed are somebody's children. So, just as thou wouldst do [for] thy child, they are doing for these.

"Dear Sarah, I know the obstacles in the way of espousing an unpopular cause. I know it is a hard thing to come

out from the multitude,—to be looked upon coldly, or, what is worse, pityingly as an outlaw from society. *I know it is hard*, but there do come times when it must be done, or our conscientious convictions be disregarded and suppressed. I would not have any one blindly espouse an unpopular movement (though its being unpopular is usually a favorable indication) but when a movement is made professedly for the right, I would have people examine, undebarr'd by the opinions of those whose misdirected self interest leads them to favor the wrong.

“I had no intention when I wrote to thee before to open a lengthy correspondence with thee, but somehow when I read thy letter, so kind in its tone, so friendly in its manner, there went forward to thee, out from my heart of hearts, feelings and thoughts which I have been unable to suppress. It carried me back to the days of our youth. Let us hope that in the great Future when all of the earth is stripped from us, we shall see eye to eye, where now we differ. In the meantime, let us be friends and help each [other] on.”

JOHN OSBORNE TO MRS. CHACE

“*Smithfield, 11th mo., 12, 1854.* Thy letter of the 8th is received, having reference to the subject of slavery and of lecturing thereon.

“The meditated extension of Slavery by the South, aided by the present Administration of the General Government, has aroused the people of the free States to act with vigor, and signally rebuke their representatives in Congress, in the late elections. This spontaneous arising of the people ought not in any way to be obstructed or endangered by abolition lecturing or excitement. I am for giving free course of action to the feeling which is now sweeping over the land like a whirlwind, and must strike the Administration and the South also with dismay.

“As respects thy application to me, to contribute to the fund to be raised to enable lecturers to go forth over this State, thou wilt readily be aware that if I do not perceive any advantage to be derived from such a movement, I should not be expected to contribute towards the support of it.

“In this little village the inhabitants are mostly aged people and would not be likely to take much interest in having lectures here, on the aforesaid subject, and I could not therefore advise thee to make the experiment.”

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

“*21 Cornhill, Boston, Dec. 23, 1854.* Garrison thinks the whole matter of the Convention had better be postponed. S. W. W. says he ‘will have nothing to do with a Convention in Providence on the 10th and 11th or at any other time when one of the lectures of the Independent Course is to be given.’ I have written to him, endeavoring to disabuse his mind of the strange notion of our being covertly in league with —— —— to help him make money.

“By waiting to the middle of March, Phillips or T. Parker might be got to aid. But it is very uncertain, can they, on account of their *trials* set down for the first of March, which however may not take place then.”

Mr. Phillips and Theodore Parker were at this period under indictment on a charge of having, by their speeches in Faneuil Hall, incited a treasonable and murderous attack upon the Boston Court House for the purpose of rescuing the fugitive slave Anthony Burns.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

“*A. S. Office, Boston, Dec. 30, 1854.* The time for the R. I. Convention has been changed to the 11th and 12th. Mr. Garrison was very desirous to have this change made,

as he will thus have the greater part of his Wednesday in his office here, and give his comparatively unencumbered time, Thursday and Friday.

"Would it not be well to write letters to different R. I. towns, calling on them to send delegates, or be in some way represented?

"Your speakers will probably be Garrison, Brown, S. S. and A. K. Foster. Will not these be enough? or shall I add C. C. Burleigh or C. L. Remond? I think the first named four will do the whole work better than if there were more. Bye and bye, Burleigh or others can go and lecture.

"Asa Fairbanks was here this week, and we left the business of engaging a hall, printing placards, etc., in his hands."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Jan. 28, 1855.* You doubtless noticed by the *Liberator* that Wm. W. Brown would soon return to R. I., as an agent of the Am. A. S. Society. I will send some tracts for Brown to take about.

"The labor attending our Annual Meeting coupled with Mr. Garrison's illness, throwing the care of the *Liberator* into my hands the last two days, have prevented my writing sooner."

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Jan. 30, 1855.* I found your letter here today when I came. Mr. May informs me that he has written to you. He has another note today from you. The bills and tracts have been sent to S. W. Wheeler.

"Remember that I am booked for Worcester on Friday Feb. 16th and at Fall River on Sunday the 18th. We have made the alteration in your list to the *Liberator*. I will be at your house on Friday the 9th. I will bring the *Liberators* you wish. I go to Cincinnati the latter part of February."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Feb. 6, 1858.* Our friends in Southern Ohio have long been calling on the American A. S. Society to send them an agent, and have sent on funds for the payment of the same. The Committee have decided that it is advisable and best to have W. W. B. go.

"I thought it right to inform you of this arrangement. I feel the more sorry now on your account for the Sunday taken out for Fall River, but if he does a good work there, you will rejoice as much as if it were done in your State."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*April 29, 1855.* C. C. Burleigh will soon be ready to act for the American Anti-Slavery Society in N. England. Do you think it advisable he should go into R. Island from Sunday May 13th to Sunday May 28th inclusive? If you think it best, I would like to have you give me a list of places where you would prefer to have him speak. He will speak every evening; he can therefore meet 16 appointments. I see that your State Committee have engaged Mr. Smith as a lecturer."

Mrs. Chace promptly made appointments for Mr. Burleigh, and Sophia Little at Newport was called upon to aid in arrangements.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*21 Cornhill, Boston, May 17th, 1855.* I am almost ashamed of the delay in regard to your tracts.

"I have put up a bundle of about 1650 tracts for you. More, if desired, shall be sent to you, or to any other point in R. Island."

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Feb. 28th, 1856.* Mr. May asked me this morning if I would spend a little time in Rhode Island, and requested that I would write and consult you. He thinks that should I take some of the towns, such as you could name, and give lectures in them, then a convention might be held in Providence, either to revive the old Society or to form a new one.

"Please make out a week's appointments commencing with Sunday, March 9th and send to the *Liberator*."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston, Feb. 28th, 1856.* I have been wanting, for a long time, to confer with some of our Rhode Island friends, in regard to re-organizing a State Society. Has not the time fully come?

"I know that some in Rhode Island are desirous of having such a Society formed, and said, a year ago, that it must be done, but that the step better be delayed a while.

"What is needed is, that the friends and supporters of the American Anti-Slavery Society should organize a State Society (as none exists now), making it auxiliary to the American."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*March 15th, 1856.* I am desirous to have Stephen S. Foster go into R. Island, as a lecturer for a few weeks. He has just returned home from some successful labours in New Hampshire. I prefer to confer with you on the subject, before laying the matter before the Executive Committee. A meeting of that committee is to be held here on Monday morning, and if you could conveniently give me a reply to this, by that time, I shall be much obliged to you.

“There are, we all know, ‘many men, many minds,’ and there is a class of them, with whom Mr. Foster is better able to deal than any other person I know.

“Probably Wendell Phillips will attend the R. I. Convention if held. I am not authorized yet to promise him. Asa Fairbanks proposes a three-days convention (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). What think you of that arrangement? Phillips would not give so much time to it as that, but we might have other speakers for Friday and Saturday morning, when Phillips would come (if he can come at all), and remain through. We will have a good convention, if we have any. I think S. S. F. can direct attention to it with more effect than either Brown or S. Holley, I mean, in the way of securing attendance.”

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

“*A. S. Office, March 27th, 1856.* As W. Phillips can give no time to the R. I. Convention, until the last week in April, we have, after conferring with Providence friends, fixed upon the *25th, 26th, and 27th* of that month as the days.

“A. Fairbanks gives me no encouragement about the formation of a State Society. It seems to me to be, like Immediate Emancipation itself, one of the first things to be done. Action, in this country, to be effective, must be organized.

“Nor is it a *very numerous* Society that is wanted. We are not politicians—thank God—I hope we are not ‘Know nothings’ in any sense; we are not striving to form a great Lodge or body, every man of which shall talk, and move, and vote, to order.

“I began my note chiefly to say that I propose appointing a meeting for S. S. Foster at *Pawtucket* on Sunday, April 6th, and I think he will stop and see you on the Saturday evening previous, as you desired. I am not sure

who the best person in Pawtucket for me to write to is, since Daniel Mitchell has gone. Will you give me your opinion as to the three best places for S. S. F. to spend the three Sundays in, which are all he can give to R. I.?"

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Worcester, April 13th, 1856.* Tomorrow morning Miss Putnam and myself leave for Newport, R. I., where I lecture Monday and Tuesday evenings. There may be some days when I cannot have meetings, [and] we should be glad to house with you. I need not say how happy I should be of your coöperation in arranging meetings for me. I hope and believe we shall have a splendid convention in P., as Mr. Wendell Phillips with his angelic eloquence has promised to be there. And Mr. Garrison, with his unfaltering faith, and Mr. Foster who always infuses life into an anti-slavery meeting!"

DAVID BUFFUM TO MRS. CHACE

"*Newport, 5th mo., 8th, 1856.* My views in regard to Slavery have not changed, considering it as I do a gross violation of the moral and christian law.

"I enclose a two dollar bill for thy disposal. Should any of the tracts thou alluded to come to hand, I will endeavor to make a proper disposition of them."

MRS. MARY H. ADAMS TO MRS. CHACE

"*East Greenwich, April 11th, 1856.* I have been able to procure a house for S. S. Foster to speak in and *we* (our family) shall be very glad to have him among us once more. Stephen was here, some years ago, and many of our A. S. friends fully believe that his course was such at that time, that the cause of truth, as it is in Anti-Slavery, was seri-

ously retarded. The same friends are fearful that *his* coming again will have the same effect. But I am disposed to say 'come.'

"We have had two visits from Sallie Holley and she drew larger congregations than any lecturer we have had for a long time. We shall do the best we can to give Stephen a full house."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"21 Cornhill, Boston, May 21st, 1856. I laid your letter, with its various points, before the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held last Friday. They will be glad to co-operate, in every way possible, in helping the cause in Rhode Island.

"No vote was passed, for, under the circumstances, none could be. We think it very uncertain indeed whether we could afford you any help on the first of August. Two meetings for that day are already in contemplation, and at one or the other, Mr. Phillips or Mr. Garrison must be. I think that you had better quite give up the expectation of much help from us on that day. W. Phillips' health does not allow him to make any new engagements now. For the most part he is obliged to break old ones. He did not go to New York at all, sorely to our disappointment. He is better, but slender; his throat, chest, etc., were very much affected.

"We hope greatly to see you at the New England Convention. You need not fear but that some place will be provided for you. If you expect to come *before* Tuesday morning, call at the A. S. office. I have been so engaged, and so much absent, that I have made but little inquiry for boarding houses.

"I did not say, after all, what I set out to say about Wendell P., viz., that, though he will not allow me to *promise*

him, I think he will go to Providence for a Sunday during the summer. *Quite between us*, I would say that I hope *financial matters* in Providence will be more wisely managed at future meetings. At the late convention, a very good sum was obtained, and I am sure the F. Committee were indefatigable, but the entire avails of their labours (with a very small exception) were swallowed up in local expenses."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*June 8, 1856.* That you may not suppose we are forgetful of R. Island, I drop you a line to say, that Wendell Phillips wishes to abstain from all speaking during at least the month of June. He spoke, you know, a great deal during the N. England Convention, and his lungs are rendered more sore thereby. And I—and others—have advised him to entire rest for the month. He may possibly go to Concord, Mass., for an afternoon's speech, but this is very doubtful, and from which he desires to be excused. Under these circumstances I cannot say when he will be able to go to Providence.

"What would your Committee think of having Charles Burleigh spend a few weeks in R. Island this summer? The American Society would do something towards sustaining him. I presume they would bear one half of the expense [over] his collections.

"In the unusually low state of their treasury, I do not think they could offer more. Their last winter's agencies at the West, and the late Annual meeting in New York were very expensive. So we have to economize, but we must keep at work and trust the people to pay.

"Miss Holley told me your wish with regard to your own pledge and also Mr. Magill's, made at N. E. Convention; and there will be no difficulty in making that arrangement."

— — — — — TO MRS. CHACE

"*Providence, 6th mo., 10, 1856.* Thy letter was duly received. In declining to contribute in accordance with thy request, I may say that it is with a desire to be found faithful, even in this small talent.

"I hope I shall be ever preserved in a willingness to do or to suffer according to His will, Who left us an example of suffering; but to relieve my sense of obligation to *Him*, I must serve *Him*;—I cannot find relief in doing by proxy."

A manuscript in Mrs. Chace's writing was left affixed to the above letter, with these words written at its close:

"Reply to — — — — —, not sent."

"*Valley Falls, 6th mo., 11, 1856.* I wish to express to thee my cordial sympathy in the principle that not by proxy, but personally, must we follow the example of Him, who came to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free.

"Judging by the course which Jesus then pursued, what would be the position He would occupy were He now on earth and in this country, and looking at the slavery which is legalized by the laws and baptized by the religion of this nation?"

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Leicester, June 15th, 1856.* C. C. Burleigh will go to Providence on Sunday next, 22nd instant.

"I will say that, for attending Sunday Conventions or meetings, in the summer time, we are accustomed to pay Agents \$5 and their traveling expenses. This is at a season when they are not lecturing through the week, and are receiving no weekly salary. C. C. B.'s is such a case."

C. C. BURLEIGH TO MRS. CHACE

"Plainfield, 6, 19, 1856. Yours of the 17th reached me last evening. There is no mistake about the appointment, and, Providence permitting, I shall be at the place in due time to meet it. I shall have to come down by the Seventh-day afternoon train which reaches Providence about 4 o'clock. If no meeting [has been] appointed for Seventh-day evening, would it not be well to have one at some place near the city for that evening? Should you think it best, and have [arrangements] made, please have word, thereof, left at Janes' shop, so that I may know of it and govern myself accordingly."

It has been impossible for me to read these letters and many from which no quotations are given in this volume, and to contemplate the immense after events in the 1860 decade, and not be filled by a profound yet almost whimsical feeling that the truest words in the English language are those of the old nursery rhyme:

"Little drops of water,
Little grains of sand,
Make the mighty ocean
And the pleasant land."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"June 24th, 1856. Yours of the 23rd received today. I am rejoiced to hear of the good courage and good deeds of our friends in Rhode Island. I have sent a notice to the *Liberator*, that C. C. B. will be at V. Falls next Sunday.

"As Pillsbury is so weak physically, I may send a fellow-speaker with him to Providence. If so, he shall be a good man, and an efficient helper."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Leicester, July 3rd, 1856.* Yours came last evening. I am very glad you feel encouraged. I am persuaded that *the Right* is destined to have a mighty victory. Sometimes I feel that it cannot be long delayed.

"I would like to have an arrangement made for Charles Burleigh to speak at Pawtucket on Sunday, July 15th. It may be announced that P. Pillsbury and Joseph A. Howland will speak in Providence July 20th. Mr. H. is a very clear-headed man, a forcible reasoner, and a good speaker."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Leicester, July 9th, 1856.* For Sunday August 3rd, who shall be the speaker? I think I could get Rev. Charles E. Hodges (not now settled anywhere) to speak to you. He is a radical disunion abolitionist (see his tract, No. 11 of our series), a very interesting writer and good speaker.

"I am sorry to be obliged to say that you must give up all expectation of Wendell Phillips this summer. He declines all, he tells me, but *absolutely necessary* speaking, such as in the 4th of July and 1st of August meetings. He has lately said *No* to very urgent requests from Springfield, Reading, etc. In a note to me (received July 4th) he says, 'I have resolved that my throat requires I should abstain from all but indispensable speaking.'

"Through some oversight, Mr. Foss received nothing, pecuniarily, at Providence, though collections were taken. It will be all made right I know."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*July 17th, 1856.* I delayed writing, until I could first hear from Garrison. Nearly a week elapsed before I got his answer, which was to the effect that he must be excused

now, but would endeavor to be one of the speakers bye and bye, perhaps in September.

"Did I mention to you the name of John T. Sargent, of Boston, as among our best Anti-Slavery writers, and a good speaker? I think he would go to Providence on one Sunday.

"How would you like Adin Ballou for one day? I am not sure he would go, but I see no good reason why he should not. I think too, that, by supplying his place at Worcester by some one of our Anti-Slavery speakers, Thomas W. Higginson would speak to you one Sunday. I presume you would like to hear him. Ardent politician as he is, he is an open and avowed Disunionist."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Aug. 3rd, 1856.* In a day or two, I am to start for Pennsylvania, to keep a long-standing Anti-Slavery engagement. I have made some provision for the Providence meetings in August. On Sunday, Aug. 17th, you will have Mr. Higginson. On the 31st, I hope you will have C. E. Hodges.

"I particularly hope you will keep your meetings notified in the *Liberator*. I think you are the person to see to this. Those notices serve, not only to [advertise] the meetings, but they are valuable as information to friends elsewhere of what is doing anti-slavery wise, and also as a record of work done. Garrison is very glad to publish them.

"You propose Garrison for Sept. 14, and John T. Sargent for Sept. 28. I would suggest that, towards the end of this month, you should write to G. on the subject. Phillips thinks now, that Mr. G. ought not to speak in public for two months; but I know that G. will not refrain so long, if he feels pretty well again."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Sept. 11, 1856.* I have sent a special *Liberator* to Mr. Wasson, with marks, calling his attention to the announcement that he will speak in Prov. on the 14th. I am sorry he is not a Disunionist. He is an able man, and a forcible speaker, but not on the highest moral ground. Mr. Hodges is thorough, brave and clear-sighted,—an uncompromising Dissolutionist."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Worcester, Sept. 24, 1856.* I should be glad to attend the meeting at Providence next Sunday, but I do not think I can. The Anti-Slavery Fair is now holding here, and will close on Friday evening. The hall must be cleared out on Saturday, the goods packed and forwarded to Boston, etc. Saturday afternoon will leave me in poor condition to go to an Anti-Slavery meeting.

"W. Phillips has not yet given me a decided answer as to Oct. 12th, and said he could not for a week or more yet. So you will not be able to say more next Sunday, than that it is probable that he will be with you on the 12th. This was the best I could get from him; for he had just got his wife back to Boston, and his house was to be put in order, which he was doing with his own hands. I shall keep an anxious eye upon him, for I shall be extremely sorry to have you disappointed.

"I am very sorry that you have not had Mr. Conway this summer, as it seems he has been staying in N. England. He is to speak in the Fair here this evening; and returns to Washington on the 1st of October. Otherwise, I would hope to engage him for your meeting of Oct. 12th, and let W. P. have another fortnight's time. I feel quite sure that Mr. Garrison will go to Providence after he returns from Penn."

The above letter contains the first mention which has been found in Mrs. Chace's papers of Moncure Daniel Conway, that singular, almost mysterious, completely charming figure of erratic genius, which was to be prominent in the summer environment of her later life.

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Province Town, Sept. 29th.* This is the queerest town I was ever in—one long street, fish flakes all along, covered with thousands of cod-fish. Sand awful deep and blowing in every direction. The houses and people look older than the Sun, moon, and stars.

"'A mullein stalk and a gooseberry bush called a garden.'

"Tomorrow morning I address the Sunday School in the Universalist church, and in the evening I give an anti-slavery lecture.

"Monday morning we take the steamer for Boston hoping to hear Mr. Sumner in the evening.

"We intend to be in Rhode Island next Thursday and I shall be ready to give a lecture in Mannville or Pawtucket on Sunday, if you will make the necessary arrangements.

"We have decided to be in East Greenwich the second Sunday in Oct. We really have had a pleasant time on the Cape: our meetings quite a success. I am sorry to leave, and would not so soon, but am unwilling to lose the rare chance of hearing Mr. Sumner in Boston."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*1 Oct. 1856.* W. Phillips will not be able to go to Prov. next time, and I have caused Stephen S. Foster to be announced as your speaker for Oct. 12th. S. S. F. will be prepared to give you three meetings.

"On Sunday, Oct. 26th, W. Phillips engages to be with

you. This he has told me today, and I saw it entered on his memorandum book. He wishes me to say that he will not be able to speak more than twice, and leaves it wholly to you to say what parts of the day shall be taken.

"The next speaker after W. P., I think may be Mr. Garrison."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"Oct. 10, 1856. 'Tis all right; he [Phillips] will be with you. Garrison will follow. Remond has a plan of going to speak at Providence, on Sunday, Nov. 2nd, specially, with a view of counteracting what he deems the evil influence of a certain article against the Disunionists, published in the *Providence Tribune*, by Horatio W. Foster, a colored man of that city, and copied into F. Douglass' paper."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"I am *very happy* that Stephen Foster's Providence meeting turned out so well. It must have been cheering to him.

"In case of such a speaker as Mr. Hodges, I should have been glad to pay him somewhat more than the usual pay of agents;—yet, he will be quite content with that.

"I wrote to Mr. Fairbanks, last week, suggesting that we had better have a pecuniary settlement, up to the present time,—or, to include Phillips' lecture, and then take a fresh start, and, if possible, pay each speaker at the time, leaving an open account only between the Prov. Committee and ours."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Nov. 7, 1856.* I thank you for your kind invitation to spend Saturday night at Valley Falls and will do so.

"I will inform my friend, Mr. Fairbanks, at Providence, of this arrangement."

EDWARD C. CRANSTON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Woonsocket, Dec. 6th, 1856.* I have an acceptable letter from thee, in relation to an anti-slavery meeting to be held at the old Bank Village by Parker Pillsbury 3rd day evening the 9th. If I am at home, I shall attend the meeting.

"If thee concludes to send the hand-bills to me I will see that they are put up."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Dec. 19, 1856.* Adin Ballou will be at Providence, Sunday—21st,—prepared for two meetings. Charles Burleigh will succeed, Sunday Jan. 4th. Charles will be ready for three meetings if wanted.

"Shall I secure Mrs. Severance for a fortnight later?"

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jan. 27, 1857.* I have been unable to find any speaker for Prov. next Sunday. The meetings, I believe, must suspend for a time. I am very sorry; but unless you can find speakers in your neighborhood, it seems inevitable."

HENRY C. WRIGHT TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Feb. 5, '57.* Thine to Mr. May is before me. I shall go to Providence to speak on Sunday the 8th, afternoon and evening. I should like to come to Valley Falls and lecture if it is thought best. I hope to see thee and Samuel on Sunday, if the traveling be such as to allow you to come."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Feb. 15, 1857.* I am glad that H. C. Wright is to repeat his visit before long; for he is a lover of the truth,—still, without all of that sound sense, correct judgment and good taste, which are so desirable in a reformer; and of



LUCY STONE

which Mr. Garrison is an admirable example. But if Henry spoke to you, as well as he did at our Annual meeting, two weeks since, I do not wonder he was liked by his Providence hearers. I never before heard him, when there appeared to me so little that was objectionable in matter and manner; and he used no language that was offensive, so far as I know, to right-minded people, though he said much that was too strong meat for the majority to feed upon yet;—to *that*, I don't object.

"I shall not be able to be with you next Sunday, as I expect to be at the New York State Convention, at Albany, on that day. Asa Fairbanks writes to Mr. Garrison about your course of meetings, wants to continue them, was greatly pleased with H. C. W., speaks of the new Hall, belonging to Mr. Richmond, and would like to have a female speaker come and dedicate it, and mentions Mrs. Severance. Lucy Stone is in N. England. I would gladly secure her services for you, and I will try, though with little expectation of succeeding, as her calls are numerous; and she keeps on the wing."

EDWARD HARRIS TO MRS. CHACE

"*Woonsocket, 19th Feb., 1857.* I duly received your favor of 15th inst. I fully agree with you that we ought to do all we can to create and maintain the Anti-Slavery sentiment. I inclose ten dollars for the Cause."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*March 19, 1857.* P. Pillsbury and H. C. Wright [will] be with you on Sunday next. We have been much engaged for two days past, with a Fugitive case, which took me out of town the chief part of yesterday. I believe the man is safe now.

"I don't know how we shall come out with your R. I. Convention. Phillips will not be able to attend,—for reasons, I am confident, *you* would appreciate and justify; but into them I cannot go. They have nothing to do with any feeling on his part averse to Providence, as I believe has been charged to exist in his case. Please say nothing more on the subject than that he cannot attend."

E. H. HEYWOOD TO MRS. CHACE

"*Hubbardston, March 17, 1857.* I infer from Mr. May's letter received tonight, that you are General Agent for R. I. pro-tem., at least. I hope the Committee will provide a good supply of those petitions against the return of Fugitives, so that we can give R. I. a chance at the May session to keep step to the music of the Union of Vermont, Mass. and N. Y. You will also, I suppose, endeavor to strike a vigorous blow for the colored children this spring."

E. H. HEYWOOD TO MRS. CHACE

"*Newport, April 13, 1857.* I dined today with Rev. Howard Malcolm. He gave me his presence and hearty endorsement at my meeting last night, and is really interested in our cause. The attendance was very good,—the contribution \$9.25. Mrs. Adams, I think, was the only church member present."

Stephen S. Foster about this time began to advise the Abolitionists to adopt the theory that they could righteously accept the Anti-Slavery interpretation of the United States Constitution, whether or not it were the one which its framers intended; and he had none of Garrison's peculiar aversion to the formation of small political parties; nor did he wholly share that reformer's preference for the merely critical method.

S. S. FOSTER TO SAMUEL MAY, JR.

"*Worcester, May 10, 1857.* If you can't go for a genuine Anti-Slavery political party, don't, I pray you, fail to expose the rottenness of all the shams which are in fellowship and alliance with slaveholders. I am glad to find that our speakers, this year, are persons who, most or all [are] of our cardinal doctrines."

Note on the above letter:

"*Dear Mrs. Chace:* I think it right you should see the above. S. MAY, JR."

THOMAS M. HATHAWAY TO MRS. CHACE

"Remond came to me (in Boston) wishing to know if a meeting for next Sunday, the 7th, would be sustained, if he and his sister should come to P. He asked this as he had an appointment to meet Fred Douglass on Wednesday evening, for a discussion on the Pro or Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution. On Thursday evening Mr. Phillips outdid himself,—was perfectly electrifying, although he said Dr. Cheever was throwing them [the Abolitionists] in the shade as far as terrible anathemas and denunciations were concerned, for he was Foster and Pillsbury in one, and [was] producing a moral earthquake."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"As to meetings in Providence, Mr. Hathaway gave me to understand that it was best to omit them for the present,—because of a 'spiritual' excitement pretty strong there. Under these circumstances, Hathaway's advice one way, and your request quite the other, I know not how to act."

S. S. FOSTER TO MRS. CHACE

"*Worcester, June 10, 1857.* I will reserve for you such Sunday as you may name. Should I go, the subject of one of my lectures will be, 'The Necessity of an Anti-Slavery Political Party,' and I should wish public notice given to that effect, as it would undoubtedly gain me a fuller house.

"The people are tired of our mere exposure of the pro-slavery sins of existing organizations. What they desire now is to have pointed out to them some practical method of getting rid of the evil of which we so loudly and justly complain. To point out the appointed remedy, even to the minute details, seems to me to be our peculiar mission.

"We need not only to destroy but to rebuild. If a revolution is needed, it is ours to lead. We should discover the way, and then say to the masses, not 'Go,' but 'Come.'

"Our great mistake has been that while we have had to do with a people, all of whom are believers in the necessity of force, our measures have been adapted only to the use of non-resistants. It is this mistake which I am now aiming to remedy. My main effort is to impress all who listen with the necessity of resorting to the same measures for the relief of the slaves, that they would adopt, if their own liberties were cloven down,—namely, *Revolution*.

"But it is not enough merely to cry 'Revolution.' We must show that this measure is practicable, and point out the various steps by which it is to be accomplished. It is [therefore] that I advocate the necessity of an anti-slavery political party. Such a party, it seems to me, is at present the great need of the anti-slavery movement, nor can that movement make much further progress without it. We must exchange our negative position for one which is more positive, if we intend to succeed.

"Abby intended to be in the anti-slavery field before this, but was disappointed in a housekeeper."

S. S. FOSTER TO MRS. CHACE

"Worcester, June 18, 1857. You may depend on me for the 5th of July.

"I am becoming daily more impressed with the great disadvantages under which we are laboring in consequence of our *practical* opposition to political action, or, rather, to genuine anti-slavery political action, and our indirect support of the present Republican party.

"Our cause is staggering under a load which it is utterly unable to carry, and until it shall be thrown off, we shall make little or no progress.

"Our greatest danger has always been from *shams*, both religious and political. At present, our very *hearts' blood* is being sucked out by the spurious Republicanism of which our Leaders seem so tender.

"To reveal to a misguided community the true character of that party seems to me our first work; and this can only be done effectually by bringing into existence a genuine anti-slavery article, with which it may be seen in contrast. In the light of such a party the true character of that organization will be revealed, and [its] power destroyed.

"The same thing is true of the church. The masses can never understand the false position of our present religious bodies until they shall see them in contrast with one which has practically adopted our theory of 'No union with slaveholders.' It becomes us, therefore, to encourage those who believe in the necessity of churches to organize religious bodies on true anti-slavery principles. Such churches, working in harmony with ourselves, would be powerful auxiliaries, in the prosecution of our warfare with the pro-slavery religion of the country, and would save us years of toil. Skilful management is better than hard labor in the prosecution of reforms."

This year, Mr. May wrote to Mrs. Chace that Parker Pillsbury seemed "speaking like one inspired."

Pillsbury was a swarthy man of portentous appearance, and his voice was richly toned for the proclamation of Doom unto an erring and sinful generation, yet a vein of playful tenderness and personal appeal ran through his letters.

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Concord, 8th July, 1857.* It would be delightful to accept that part of your proposal which relates to visiting Valley Falls. But you are too exorbitant in demanding another meeting so soon at my hand. You surely cannot suppose my resources equal to such constant demand."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, July 13, 1857.* It happens, unfortunately, that I am engaged to be at South Danvers, with Parker Pillsbury, on Sunday next, and so cannot be with you, in Providence, on that day, unless I can get excused. I have just written to South Danvers to see if I may be excused.

"It surprises and delights me to see how long your series of meetings has been kept up."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, July 15, 1857.* I have just apprised our friend Mr. Fairbanks that I will lecture twice in Providence on Slavery, on Sunday next, July 19, as I have got excused from South Danvers."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Sept. 10, 1857.* Should you decide to hold it [a State Convention] in October, I will aid. I know that it is quite a *sine qua non* with you, that Wendell Phillips should

attend it, and I am not now able to say if he could do so in October."

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Dec. 9th, 1857.* I know how very happy you would be to secure Miss Putnam as teacher for your interesting little children. If you still would like her to go to you, I will urge her to comply with your repeated invitations. The cross of Anti-Slavery is always very heavy for her to bear about, and A. S. Tract distributing will be harder than ever this winter, with all this wail of 'hard times.'"

There are a number of undated letters evidently belonging to this general period, and all, like the ones given and many others, refer to Anti-Slavery work. The following notes are printed because they fix the position of that rare spirit and too little known man, Rev. Samuel Johnson.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Dear Mrs. Chace.* This has just come from S. Johnson."

INCLOSURE; SAMUEL JOHNSON TO SAMUEL MAY, JR.

"*Salem, Jan. 26th.* I expect to exchange with Higginson in two or three weeks, so that a day for Providence does not seem very near at hand. If such an opportunity shall occur within a few weeks, I will write you. Yours for the good cause of Disunion."

MRS. CHACE TO DR. SAMUEL TOBEY

"If the white citizens of Providence withhold from their colored neighbors equal privilege in the public schools, deny them the advantage of choosing their occupations, allowing them only those which are most menial and least lucrative,

excluding them from elevating social and intellectual influences, it makes and keeps them a poor, ignorant and degraded class, rendering them in great numbers objects of that charity which delights in giving money, and makes them dependent upon the same persons who deprive them of their rights.

"Ah, my friend, I feel that we have scarcely begun to appreciate the doctrines of Christianity as taught by Jesus, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'"

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. GEORGE I. CHACE

"*Valley Falls, Nov. 26, 1858.* Thy earnest invitation to me, to become one of the Lady Managers of the Mt. Vernon Association, is before me. In justice to myself, I feel called upon to give thee some of the reasons why I have no 'enthusiasm' to devote to the service which is thus proffered me.

"If the estate of Mt. Vernon has any moral value, it is because of the struggle for liberty with which it is identified. How can the women of this Nation talk of commemorating that struggle, when every sixth woman of this land is sold on the auction block. Tell me not that the decay of Mt. Vernon is a national disgrace, when in the eyes of the world and of Heaven, we present such a spectacle of iniquity! It would be far nobler, to labor to erase from the national escutcheon this foul blot, compared with which the decay of Mt. Vernon sinks into insignificance."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Sat., April 10, 1858.* On Tuesday last, I wrote to T. M. Hathaway proposing an Anti-Slavery meeting at Providence, to be attended by C. L. Remond. I thought

that he might thus *revive* the Anti-Slavery work in Providence, and prepare the way for the Convention,—which I consider Wendell P. pledged to attend. Yesterday came a reply from him [Hathaway]. He rehearses the obstacles in the way of Anti-Slavery effort,—Spiritualism and Revivalism, etc., and adds, ‘and the question is, whether there would be a large financial deficiency, should we attempt to hold such meetings now.’ He afterwards says, ‘the idea is if Mr. Phillips could come here, he would call out an audience that would be a *paying* one.’ He then proceeds to speak of the great need there is of Anti-Slavery labor in R. Island,—‘men, calling themselves Republican, voting for the most intensely pro-slavery Hunkers.’

“Now, it seems to me, that *any* sensible and intelligent Anti-Slavery laborer should find a hearing in such circumstances, and especially that one so able, uncompromising and eloquent as Remond should at once be accepted.

“It is both *selfish* and *suicidal*,—if I may speak my mind freely to you, dear Mrs. C., for I do not wish my words reported to wound anybody,—to say, ‘we will do nothing unless we can have W. Phillips.’ It is selfish, because it betrays the desire for a personal gratification outside of the great end to be accomplished, and suicidal, because as it is physically impossible for Mr. Phillips to do all the work, it dooms the cause to be, most of the time (in any given place), without any advocate, and suffers all sorts of *isms*, with the weakest advocates, to displace Anti-Slavery and crowd it out of sight.

“I infer from Hathaway’s letter, that the feeling in Providence, among the anti-slavery people, is that they will do nothing until Phillips goes there.

“Meantime, could a meeting be held to good purpose in Pawtucket, April 18th? Mr. Hathaway says *you* are the best person to be consulted on the subject.

"I have not definitely answered your leading inquiry. W. Phillips cannot yet give any answer as to a R. I. Convention. Mr. Garrison stands ready to go whenever Phillips does."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*April 15, 1858.* I saw Charles Remond this morning on his way to Plymouth, and he will go to Pawtucket for next Sunday. As you particularly desired three meetings, and I thought that it would be almost too much for one person, I have arranged to have his sister Sarah accompany him, and you will doubtless see them at your house on Saturday evening;—for I saw no other course than to extend to her also the kind invitation you sent to him. Sarah is quite a pleasing speaker, and the novelty of a young colored woman appearing as a speaker will be likely to be attractive.

"Perhaps you will have notice sent to Pawtucket, but it will be too late, I suppose, for your handbills."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*July 15th, 1858.* I have been pleased to learn that something has been said in Providence, respecting the revival in Rhode Island of the Old Anti-Slavery Society there.

"Our friend Andrew T. Foss being about to be in your vicinity, I propose a meeting for him on July 25th, at Pawtucket or Valley Falls, whichever place you shall judge best. Both Mr. Foss and myself are to be at Blackstone on Saturday evening and Sunday next, attending our County meeting there. I shall be obliged if you can send a line to me there."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*March 16, 1859.* E. H. Heywood writes to me that he will go into Rhode Island in April. I shall write to him

that he is to *look to you*, or I will say to the *R. I. A. S. Committee through you* for instructions. Will you, in conjunction with others of your Committee,—if you deem it necessary,—make Heywood's appointments? I am sure you are the best person to do it, and will appropriate his time to the best advantage."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*March 23, 1859.* I was about preparing a regular call for the Rhode Island A. S. Convention, when it occurred to me that it should have several Rhode Island names attached to it. Will you let me know what names to publish? And if you will prepare the call entire, so much the better. It should appear without more delay in both *Standard* and *Liberator*."

PELEG CLARKE TO MRS. CHACE

"*Coventry, March 24, 1859.* I received your note of the 21st instant, stating the proposition for an Anti-Slavery Convention in Providence, and the preparatory steps for the same, and requesting information from me as to persons and places to be visited.

"About a quarter of a century ago I could have given you some information on those subjects, but at present I am as ignorant as any one can be on all the points suggested.

"The Anti-Slavery people in the Southern part of the State with whom I was formerly acquainted are all dead or moved away. What the present generation are I cannot tell; but I should regard that region as new ground to be taken up.

"As to where I reside;—twenty-five years ago, there were fifteen or twenty copies of the *Liberator* taken in the neighborhood, and now I know of but one except myself who takes

it. But I don't wish to speak a discouraging word. When the agent comes into the State, if he will call on me, I will render him or her all the facilities in my power.

"You mentioned the death of your father, Arnold Buffum. Some thirty years ago I was on a committee with him at a Temperance convention, and I heard him deliver the first anti-slavery lecture I ever heard.

"The pioneers in our cause are dropping off. I thought at the commencement of this struggle, I might live to see our object accomplished, but I have long since given up that expectation; but that it will eventually be accomplished I have not the shadow of a doubt."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*A. S. Office, Boston, March 30, 1859.* We are to announce the R. I. Convention this week. I *hope* Phillips will give us one day, but I do not know that he will. I have not yet asked Higginson. It is bad to have so many speakers that they get in each other's way.

"Miss Holley writes as follows: 'I will go to Rhode Island on Wednesday, April 13th, and stay out the month. Do make an appointment for me in Westerly; as I am sure Charles Perry and his family will receive both Miss Putnam and myself very kindly.'

"I leave it with your Committee to make Miss Holley's appointments. She objects to lecturing in Providence at all, but will go anywhere else. To speak twice on Sundays, and twice besides during the week, is the utmost limit of her strength. Send Miss H.'s appointments, for the *Liberator*."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*April 12, 1859.* We are having in mind your State Convention. Sallie Holley will do her part, Heywood, his. I really wish it could be so that the speakers *might* assemble

at your house, on the evening previous to the Convention, to confer on the matter. But I see no prospect of it, though we thank you most cordially for your kind invitation. Garrison will doubtless not go before Thursday morning. I look forward to accompanying him. Possibly, C. C. Burleigh may get to your house Wednesday evening. I do not despair of Phillips' aid one day. If he finally says 'No,' P. Pillsbury will join our corps. I wish Rev. Mr. Wolcott might be specially invited to attend, and any other outspoken man who lives convenient to the meeting."

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN TO MRS. CHACE

"*July 5, 1859.* I am thinking of spending a few days in your State. Can you do anything toward getting up meetings?"

E. H. HEYWOOD TO MRS. CHACE

"*21 Cornhill, Aug. 3, 1859.* I think you [told] me last Spring, that there was some unregenerate soil in the Northern part of R. I., which needed to be plowed up and sown with Anti-Slavery seed. You will oblige me if you can name any localities in that region where I could send Mr. J. A. Howland to speak on Sundays or week days or both as there is an ear to hear.

"Mr. Foss spoke of your wanting him at Valley Falls some time soon—to help you convert Mr. Richardson I suppose. I have work for him laid out till Sept., after which he can come, if you wish. We thought the case almost hopeless last Spring, but I am not so infidel now. We must have faith that even *ministers* can be saved."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Oct. 17, 1859.* I can hardly realize that your beloved father has gone; and much did I regret that it was not in my power to be at his interment.

“How true and faithful you have been to the cause of the enslaved for many a year past! Heaven bless you and your dear household, and long preserve you in continued well-doing!”

The following letter was written during the last days that John Brown lived on earth.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

“*21 Cornhill, Boston, Nov. 28, 1859.* Yours of the 21st has been before me for several days, and I have been much exercised in mind as to how I could best respond to the numerous applications for speakers for the sad December 2nd. Mr. Wallcut, who was in Providence on Friday last, learned from Mr. Harris there, that Wm. Wells Brown was expected to be with them. W. W. B. has since arrived in Boston from the West, and he says he will go to Providence on that day. I do not think it will be in my power to send you any other speaker. All are pre-engaged, save Phillips, who is not willing to speak in public on that day.

“I hope Messrs. Conklin and Wolcott, and others in Providence, will come forward on that occasion.”

It seems to me that in this correspondence, through all the dimly discerned events, through all the varied thought and question to which it bears witness, the figure emerges clear of a patient woman who never faltered and never failed, and never found any task too irksome or too humble for her performance on behalf of the slave; a woman not greatly intellectual nor ardently enthusiastic in temperament, simply determined to do each day everything that she could; a woman with whom the leaders of the Cause took counsel, and whose quiet energy urged onward their mighty progress.

CHAPTER TENTH

LAST YEARS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR; FIRST MONTHS OF
1861; MRS. CHACE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SERVICE
IN THE ARMY

SOON after settling into the Homestead, Mrs. Chace, in arranging for my attendance at a day school in Pawtucket, had her principles of nonconformity and her instinct of sincerity brought sharply in contact with established usage. Prayers were said in this school every morning, the pupils meanwhile bowing their heads on their desks. Mrs. Chace told me that I was not to bow my head. "It is not right," she informed me, "to pretend. Those little girls are not really praying when they lean over that way. They are only making believe."

This incident illustrates some of her strongest characteristics. She did not fully apprehend the situation. She did not make the least effort to learn whether or not my childhood had acquired for itself such a faith that I could honestly pray, or whether I would make any effort to do so. She ignored the question of courtesy to others, and I have no idea that it once occurred to her to doubt the accuracy of her wholesale statement that those little girls were all "making believe."

In the general period from 1857 to 1864, Mrs. Chace felt great dissatisfaction with all church organizations. On Sundays, she would sit at her library window, watch the quiet passers and say: "There come So-and-so and his wife.

They feel as if they had done something by going to church. It satisfies them, so they don't try to do any good in the world. It would be better if all the churches could be done away with." She seemed to have no idea that natural change would be best in religious method. She wanted revolution and would answer, to protest against her theory, "If all the churches were abolished, people would get up something better." Yet it was in the same period that she maintained one of her few local friendships which had in it much element of positive congeniality. She was pleasantly intimate with Mr. Richardson, a Baptist minister.

When Mrs. Chace's older sons were at home, Mr. Magill occasionally acted as their tutor. But at all times, after the first acquaintance, the intimacy between the Chace and Magill families was very close. They discussed the latest poems in the *Standard* and *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Emerson's *Brahma* was read and talked about. Wordsworth's poems were in the Homestead bookcase, but I must admit, that in these days they were not often read, though once when I said that Lowell's *In the Twilight* came nearer than any other poem to saying what words could not say, George S. Burleigh took out the Wordsworth and confuted me by reading the *Ode on Immortality*. When a new volume of Whittier or Longfellow came into the house, portions were committed to memory as a matter of course. Mrs. Chace remembered a vanished literary fancy and procured a copy of *Ossian* for her children. Scott's novels and Dickens' were formally introduced to our attention. "Nicholas Nickleby is a good one to begin with," she said, in recommending Dickens.

A little later, she insisted on reading to her brood Combe's *Constitution of Man*. I did not enjoy that reading, though perhaps my elder brothers did. When Wentworth Higginson, in 1862, published his translation of Epictetus, she

read it aloud, a small portion at a time, before the family rose from the breakfast table.

After her sons entered Brown University, they brought home from the college library volumes of *The Spectator* and of classic Mythology. A rather solemn permission that savored of command was given me, and in obedience thereto, I read Boswell's *Life of Johnson*,—all through.

Mrs. Chace had no taste or ability for mechanics, but she liked Natural History, read, with pleasure, even a schoolbook about Familiar Science, and enjoyed one of Hugh Miller's geological books. She never acquired thorough knowledge of any such subject, but all her life she liked to see and collect interesting minerals and sea shells; and she loved to look at and handle almost caressingly a shining bit of Rhode Island limestone.

She and Mr. Chace were indulgent to their children as to hen, pigeon and guinea pig keeping. Edward Gould Buffum brought a couple of Australian paroquets from California, when he had to perform a large part of the journey by stagecoach. He was three weeks on the way, and he carried the cage in his hand. They were rare birds at that time, and were my charge for ten or twelve years after he gave them to the family, and went to France, where he became the Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald*.

There were cats in the Cumberland house and the Homestead, but the family was not eminent as one of cat lovers. Now and then a dog barked along the domestic scene, but only three or four ever became quite fully attached actors therein. The first of these had belonged to George, and had been named Lufra for the dog in *The Lady of the Lake*.

The family took to horses. A few years after the Homestead life was established, a riding pony was bought and Mr. Chace went dutifully to Providence, intending to be generous and spend as much as twenty dollars for a side

saddle for me. He returned with a smile and a saddle for which he had paid a hundred dollars.

There was but little strictness in the home rule. No onerous tasks were exacted, no careless or even boisterous behavior was forbidden unless Mr. Chace had neuralgic pain. Mrs. Chace let the children yell if, out of joyousness, they wanted to even when she had a sick headache, and the youngest boy, Ned (Eddie she called him), pounded with knife and fork on the dining table at his own pleasure. A visitor had the courtesy once to say, "I am glad you did not stop Eddie's pounding." "I had not thought of stopping him," said the mother, and after his death she recalled the incident, and added, "I am glad I always let him pound."

But in the Homestead, the children must go to bed at just such a minute, and no boy might go to walk or call in the evening without special and not easily granted permission, and no girl might go alone out of sight from the front door, even in the daytime. Nevertheless when Mary wanted a piano, Mr. Chace, still wearing his Quaker coat, did not object to having one hired for her use, and a Steinway piano was bought for Ned's coming of age present.

Although onerous tasks were not laid upon the children, I have heard Arnold, after he was fifty years old, declare that when he was a boy he worked in the Homestead garden or barn—so I suppose he did, and if he did, it is probable that Sam also worked, but it would not be safe to draw, from those premises, the conclusion that Ned ever did anything he did not want to do.

The Homestead was in the southern end of Valley Falls and was near Harvey Chace's house. It was flanked on one side by a rural lane, which is now Hunt Street, and on the other by a deep, grassy lawn, at the inner end of which stood a little house that looked like a white mushroom under the biggest oak tree in all the region. There were old cherry,

shapely horse chestnut and magnificent elm trees near the Homestead, and in some neighboring yards still stood pine trees, relics of "the forest primeval," while everywhere the later growth of apple tree abounded.

Vehicles passed so seldom, that Valley Falls folk usually strolled along in the middle of the road, and one might sit on the Homestead porch through a summer afternoon and not see a stranger pass.

Mr. Chace spent his evenings at home so uniformly, that his wife said that in these years he went once to Harvey Chace's, and that was the only time he ever left the house, for any social purpose, unaccompanied by her.

Much intimacy with her neighbors was simply impossible to Mrs. Chace's nature, but she carried on in the Homestead a commendable effort to sustain cordial relations with them. She did her part as hostess in the largest and finest house of the village. She made that house stand for something good and pleasant in the community life. She did it all, of course, according to the peculiarities of her own character. She sometimes invited guests whom somebody wished she would not; she often omitted those whom perhaps it would have been better to ask; she entertained a little autocratically, giving to her guests what she thought it was their duty, rather than what they were most likely to enjoy; still she fulfilled the social obligation, which in her position was a real one, to give without demanding or expecting full return.

Mrs. Augustine A. Mann, once Sarah Bucklin, wrote recently (1911): "I can recall many of the pleasant things of 'long ago'; among them the parlor entertainments your mother used to have, when she invited young and old, and had tableaux and charades for amusement."

"I do not make work of it," said Mrs. Chace to her sister, Mrs. Lovell. "I tell the children we will have a party that

evening; I make some cake and I send around and ask the neighbors in."

Mrs. Chace had a great liking for every amusement that was dramatic, but she also enjoyed unintellectual games in which a number of people could take part. She even joined in romping sports, and Puss in the Corner, Drop the Handkerchief and "Neighbor, Neighbor, How Art Thou?" were played in her parlor.

She naturally made some efforts that were social failures. It was a cardinal principle with her that festivity should include people of all ages,—but once in a while she insisted a little too strenuously on a united gayety, and got only a dull endurance.

While John Brown waited his martyrdom, Mrs. Chace took me to spend a day at Woonsocket with her friends Mr. and Mrs. Edward Harris. The Harris children and I sat on the ground in the beautiful park that surrounded the house. Young Joseph Harris, ten years old, was a picturesque looking boy, whose death in early manhood was a calamity to his native State. On this autumnal day we discussed the impending tragedy. Joseph was charming and earnest. "They'll never hang John Brown," he said. "They won't dare to. My father won't let them." The boy believed every word he spoke—and so did I!

Interest in the John Brown tragedy was heightened for the Chace family by the visit of Rebecca Spring to the hero, in his prison. I regret that in her *Reminiscences*, Mrs. Chace allowed herself to apply the word "mistaken" to John Brown, as I fear her meaning may be misunderstood by readers of this later day. I am certain that Mrs. Chace did not consider him "mistaken" because he was technically a lawbreaker, or because he miscalculated his material resources, but because she disapproved of all warlike action.

2024 East Couch Street
Dec 31st 1913 Portland Oregon

This picture is Mrs John Brown
wife of Osawatamie Brown
Her maiden name was Mary
Day. Her grand father Day
was in the revolutionary war.
Ruth Mills John Browns
mother was the daughter of
a revolutionary soldier.
John Browns grandfather
was a Capt in the same war.
That makes three greatgrand
fathers for one to be proud of.

Very Truly Yours

Salmon Brown



She came one winter morning out of the Homestead's front door, and turning, fastened on that door a long strip of black. When asked why she put it there, she answered in a husky tone, "Because of what they are doing today in Virginia." It was the second of December, 1859, and, perhaps at that very moment, John Brown was riding to the gallows.

To Mrs. Chace's that winter came John Brown's brother Frederick, a man who resembled the beardless portraits of the martyr. He said of Mrs. John Brown, "She has done so well with his children who were not her own."

Frederick Brown was enthusiastic about Mrs. Spring, whom he was soon to meet, but, as he talked, Mrs. Chace became afraid he would be puzzled and disappointed when he saw her sister. She determined, in all kindness, to prepare him, so she asked him what sort of a person he supposed Mrs. Spring to be. He, of course, described his ideal, and in fashion like this: "A sensible woman, who isn't too fine to do her housework, and doesn't wear dresses dragging in the dirt."

"Well," answered Mrs. Chace, "my sister is a woman who never gets up to breakfast, seldom goes into her kitchen, and wears skirts trailing on the ground."

The hero's brother looked grave and made no reply. In due time, however, he visited Mrs. Spring, saw the real woman, and, like most people, became enraptured with her.

Early in the year of 1860, Wendell Phillips was a guest overnight at the Homestead. He had come to deliver at Lonsdale his lecture on Street Life in Europe. Mrs. Chace drove with him to the Lonsdale hall. I was small enough to be tucked into the carriage extra, and I crouched at his feet. On the way up, he said to Mrs. Chace: "I did not mean to lecture much this season. I promised my wife in the fall that I would stay at home and be a very good husband.

That is just what I said. But then came this Harper's Ferry matter, and I had to break my promise and go out. However, she encouraged me."

"She always does encourage thee, doesn't she?" asked Mrs. Chace.

"Oh, yes," he said "always."

The unselfishness of John Brown's men was spoken of, since it seemed more marvelous that they, in their youth than he in his age, should be willing to give up life for the slave. "I was very much impressed by that," he said.

Being too much of a child to have any idea of the serious nature of my inquiry, I asked a question without the slightest idea that Mr. Phillips' very life might be imperiled by his answer. "Did you know beforehand what John Brown was going to do?"

He spoke without more hesitation than was shown in his slight correction and addition to statement as he went on.

"I did not know he intended to attack Harper's Ferry, but I knew there was such a man, who was working against slavery, in those ways. I had seen him. I knew he was down in that neighborhood, among the mountains,—doing something about slavery, but I did not know exactly what."

MRS. SPRING TO MRS. CHACE

"*Eagleswood, Jan. 15, 1860.* A. D. Stephens' father has written to Mr. G. Sennott thus, 'I hope and trust, sir, you will be rewarded for what you do for my poor boy. I have not much of this world's goods—yet I have a Father on high who owns the earth on a thousand hills, and he will give you success in all your ways, for which I will pray.'

"This extract Sennott sent to me. Mr. A. D. Stephens writes to me that his father has led a choir ever since he was fifteen; he is now sixty. The whole family are musical.

Captain Brown and Stephens used to sing hymns in the prison.

“I gave Mr. Sennott \$25.00. Mrs. Gerritt Smith sent me \$50.00; Mrs. Birney, \$5.00; Mr. —, \$25.00; Maria Buf-fum, \$1.00; the little Read children, \$2.50, and a shopkeeper at Perth Amboy, \$3.00.

“I hope to get enough to make \$150 for him, and then I want help in another matter. Just before Mr. Brown was lifted up from this earth, he wrote me a beautiful letter about a son of his in Ohio, of whom he said: ‘He suffered, on his way to, and while in, Kansas almost everything but death, and returned to Ohio, not a spoiled but next to a ruined man. He never quarrels, and yet I know he is both morally and physically brave; he will not deny his principles to save his life, and he turned not back in the day of battle. The battle of Ossawatomie, he fought by my side. He is a most tender, loving, steadfast friend, on the right side of things in general. A practical Samaritan.’

“He says this son is a gardener and vine dresser, and seemed to think this would be the place for him. We wrote to him and found he had nine acres of land, not paid for, and only one quarter of an acre cultivated.

“But he says they like their place and, if out of debt, could do well there. And I want to get help for this. Do thee help. It was this Jason and another of Mr. Brown’s sons, who went first to Kansas. They wintered their cattle on the way and suffered very much. In Kansas they built and settled, carried no arms, were peaceful citizens, but firm free-state men. The Missourians burnt their houses, laid waste their land, and then they came forward to defend the land against these ruffians. Let us try to help him,—he is now very poor. If he is helped to the amount of \$200, I shall be satisfied at present and truly thankful.

“If thee will put the extract from Mr. Brown’s letter at

the head [of a subscription paper] and get people to give, I believe a blessing will come upon the effort to aid his beloved son.

“What beautiful letters from Copeland in the last *Liberator*. Those were brave, unselfish men. Stephens writes that ‘Mr. Newby, who was killed at Harper’s Ferry, had a wife and seven children in Virginia. They are slaves.’

“Who can blame *him*? I presume he was a fugitive slave and went to free those dear to him, as well as others.

“My heart aches for the colored people, I saw in Virginia. Their condition is most painful, now watched, suspected, feared; they have reason to dread the worst, which is being sold South into hopeless bondage. This is being rapidly done now.”

Sam and Arnold were at the Hopedale School.

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD B. CHACE

“*Home, 19th, 2nd mo., 1860.* I think I never received a letter which gave me more satisfaction than thine of the 12th inst., because of the evidence it contained that thou wert seeking to know the Truth, and wishing to [do] the Right.

“I will try to answer thy question in regard to principles and prayer, according to the best light which my experience, my reason and my impressions have given me.

“All truth, all goodness, all principles come from God. Error and evil arise from ignorance, and the disorder resulting from ignorance, or misunderstanding of what is for our true interest and happiness.

“In the midst of all this, the Spirit of God is ever seeking, through various instrumentalities, to restore order among mankind, to elevate, purify and educate men, [so that] they shall in all circumstances endeavor to learn what is right,

and then do it, at whatever cost, *because it is right*. Now, whenever any person is seeking to bring *himself* into this state, he is acting in harmony with God; is co-operating with Him in His great design, is becoming one of the instruments in the Divine economy for the accomplishment of this work. Every desire that animates him in his effort is accompanied by a consciousness that it is in accordance with the Divine will, and thus he is brought into communion with God. A person in this state will often turn his thoughts upward, in order to gain new strength for future and greater efforts in behalf of the right, and for help to overcome, in his heart and his life, all that retards his progress towards a higher and better state. And *this is true prayer*, whether it is framed in words or not.

“Also, a person will, in moments of reflection, feel the need of more strength to resist temptation, than he finds within himself. He may (and I think it is very natural that he should) in earnest words implore his Heavenly Father to help him to keep his good resolutions, and the desires which prompt these words will carry him beneath the very arms of Divine protection. For God is always extending toward us a helping hand. *If we reach out for it*, it helps us; and this reaching out is prayer.

“Also, when we are anxiously concerned for the welfare of others, we are especially in harmony with God; and, while doing all we can to aid them, we are very naturally led to ask of Him to throw around them such influences as will lead them aright. Not doubting that He is ever watching over them, either directly or through the agency of spirits, yet, we seem so naturally led to request His care over them, that I always feel as though, in some way which we yet do not quite understand, such prayers have some influence for good upon them. And upon ourselves, I know that, like everything we do for others, the effect is always beneficial.

"All this is quite a different thing, as thou, my dear child, wilt readily perceive, from any formal ceremony of saying words in a solemn tone to God, as a religious rite, of going somewhere, at stated seasons, to perform a prayer, and then feeling that so much work is done;—one person usually performing for a whole congregation.

"No prayer is *mine* unless it goes from my heart, or finds a response therein; and whatever does, is good for me, in whatever way the Divine Providence may answer it.

"I trust what I have written will be enough for the present. It has given me great pleasure to write it, and I think some benefit, and I hope that thou wilt receive both in reading it, both thou and dear Sammie, for whose welfare and progress in all that is good, many an earnest prayer ascends from your Mother's heart."

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD B. CHACE

"I like the house [the Homestead] better and better all the time; it seems more like home than the other did. Last night, we all slept up stairs, and I had very little, if any, of the fear I used to have so much of at the other house, when your father was gone. Still, I thought it would have been nice to have had you at home.

"I see by the *Liberator* that Garrison was to speak today at Milford. If you heard him, you must tell me about it. This week Frederick Brown, brother of the Martyr, is to speak at Pawtucket. I hope to hear him.

"The temperance meetings are continued here, and are very largely attended. I think they are doing a good work. But there is much to do to civilize and elevate the people. I hope when you get to be men, you will be fitted to do some of it, by having elevated and purified yourselves. Give Sammie much love from thine and his loving Mother."

In May, 1860, Mrs. Chace, with some of her children, visited the Garrisons in Boston. They went to the Anti-Slavery Office on Washington Street, where they met Mattie Griffith, a young Kentuckian who had freed her slaves. Mr. Garrison conducted them through the *Liberator* offices, and expatiated on his own love for handling type.

During this visit the New England Anti-Slavery Convention was in session, and on May 30 Mrs. Chace was appointed one of the vice-presidents of that Convention.

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jan. 21st, 1861.* Today Mrs. Garrison asked me to write to you to say if you are not to be at the Festival, Wednesday evening, she would be greatly pleased to receive a donation from you. You know how great the need of our holy cause is, especially at this hour in our National history. It is feared that the amount this year will fall far short of other years."

The year of 1861 dawned upon the world like a comet of disaster. Soon after South Carolina seceded, the boy Arnold came into the Homestead and announced, "They have opened a recruiting office in Central Falls, to enlist soldiers." I laughed mockingly. "Central Falls and South Carolina against each other! They are well matched." I knew not whereof I spoke.

On the 28th of February, 1861, the following resolution passed the House of Representatives:

"No Amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

On the 4th of March Lincoln was inaugurated, and in his

inaugural address he said, "I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution, which amendment I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I now depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied Constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable."

In this inaugural address Mr. Lincoln also announced his belief that the United States Constitution required the return of fugitive slaves, but he seemed to think there was some question as to the best and most exactly legal method for making such return, and said, "All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause shall be delivered up, their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law, by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?"

MRS. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, March 24, 1861.* I was extremely sorry that the storm prevented you from coming to Boston to pass the Sunday, though I am sure you must have felt comforted when you heard that Mr. Phillips was absent from the city, and unable to fulfill his engagement. Miss Holley and Miss Putnam arrived here on Saturday [in] the same hour we were looking for you. It would have given them a deal of pleasure, to say nothing of ourselves, could we all have passed the Sunday together. Mr. Phillips was here last week, and I told him, if the storm had not prevented, you intended to have been

at Music Hall to hear him speak, which I doubt not he felt as a special compliment to himself. I do not know when he intends to speak again, but whenever he does, we shall consider it a privilege to see you at our house. My dear husband is much better than he was during the meetings, still he is seldom if ever free from pain. His spirits are good, and no one would judge he had any difficulty. Our dear friend Francis Jackson is very sick, and we are all fearful that we may not have him long."

Fort Sumter was attacked April 12. "Slavery will be destroyed, if war comes," said Mrs. Chace to her children. "They say the United States government has the power to abolish it in case of war."

Mr. Chace was sixty-one years old,—a cotton manufacturer. His was the threatened business, and none knew then that bankruptcy would not be the next plague to follow war. He sat silent a moment, and then, his face very beautiful and his voice trembling a little, he said, "I don't care what becomes of my property if only the slaves get free."

HENRY C. WRIGHT TO MRS. CHACE

"*April 6, 1861.* I will be with thee on Saturday, the 20th.

"Subject for Afternoon: Fact and Fiction in Religion or Misdirected Reverence, or Worship.

"Evening: Compromise between Liberty and Slavery.

"Have this for afternoon or evening as thou shalt think best. I want it when the most will be present.

"Dearly would I like to know all thy children intimately."

Mrs. Chace learned, by hearsay only, of the mobs that raged through Boston streets. But, as she has told in her *Reminiscences*, Valley Falls got up a little mob of its own, on the

occasion of Henry C. Wright's visit. William Sherman and Mrs. Isaac Kenyon stood on the steps of Public Hall while the meeting proceeded within. They faced the mobbing crowd and the woman talked to it and held it at bay. As we all were walking homeward across the Blackstone River bridge, followed by the rioters, I was hit by a stone thrown at our group.

Mrs. Chace did not want her sons to enter the Northern army and got her domestic way in that.

Some extended explanation of her attitude is due to her character. In the first place, her emotional patriotism was pretty nearly all confined to Rhode Island. She had intense affection for her native State, but the Country meant little to her, and the Nation, as such, had not then been fully born. The Republic was truly what Wendell Phillips called it, "a huddle of States." The Union was to her what Garrison had proclaimed it, an artificial bond, created by a covenant with moral Death. The possession of territory by the Union did not appeal as an object to her interest, affection or ambition. She had not a particle of the feeling that induced Butler to say, that the territory included in the Southern States belonged to him as a citizen of the Republic, having been bequeathed to him by his forefathers, and he would use his sword to keep it as a heritage for his children.

When the war began, notwithstanding her belief that it would end slavery, the action of Lincoln's government, of some military commanders and of the Federal Congress was so pro-slavery that it was impossible for her to want her sons to enter an army whence fugitive slaves were driven back by Federal bayonets.

She, like other Garrisonians before the war, had thought it wrong to vote. After the war was begun by the rebels, the Garrisonians all recognized that there had arisen the legal situation in which John Quincy Adams had said that the

Federal Government would have full power to emancipate the slaves, but these and other abolitionists differed among themselves in opinion of personal duty, so long as the Federal Government had not taken steps towards that emancipation.

It was a long time before it became natural for Mrs. Chace to feel as an Abolitionist that it might be her duty to let her son enter the Army. Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, during this period, would not even knit stockings or provide other physical comforts for any Union soldiers except those in the Kansas contingent, who had announced that they would not obey the Fugitive Slave Law, which Lincoln had instructed McDowell to enforce.

On August 22, 1862, Mr. Lincoln wrote to Horace Greeley. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it."

Three weeks before the date of this letter, on August 1st of that fearful summer, Wendell Phillips said at Abington:

"When Mr. Lincoln, by an equivocal declaration, nullifies General Hunter, he does not do it because he doubts either the justice or the efficiency of Hunter's Emancipation proclamation; he does it because he is afraid of Kentucky on the right hand and the *Daily Advertiser* on the left. If Mr. Lincoln believed in the North and in Liberty, he would let our army act on the principles of Liberty. He does not. He believes in the South as the most efficient and vital instrumentality at the present moment, therefore he defers to it."

Mrs. Chace informed me, in the grave tone of one, not criticizing, but seriously pondering the ethic of an action, that Wentworth Higginson had decided that the government was so surely advancing towards freedom, that he could conscientiously enter the army.

But in a letter to the *New York Tribune* of August 16, 1862, Mr. Phillips said that he could not give musket or sword to the service of the Union, though he wished he might,

because, he explained, "The Union which has for twenty-five years barred me from its highest privileges by demanding an oath to a pro-slavery Constitution, still shuts that door in my face; and this administration still clings to a policy which, I think, makes every life now lost in Virginia, and every dollar now spent there, utter waste. I cannot conscientiously support such a Union and such an administration. But there is room for honest difference of opinion. Others can support it. To such, I say, Go; give to the Union your best blood, your heartiest support. Is there, then, no place left for me? Yes. Where is my post, especially under an administration that avowedly sits waiting, begging to be told what to do? I must educate, arouse, and mature a public opinion which shall compel the administration to adopt and support it in pursuing the policy I can aid."

Garrison's sons say, in the biography of their father, of an article apparently written before but published simultaneously with Lincoln's first Emancipation Proclamation:

"With regard to abolitionists who were not non-resistants, and who had hitherto abstained from voting on account of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, the [Mr. Garrison's] argument showed that as the Union was dissolved and the Government had the war-power to abolish slavery, even in the Border States, Mr. Garrison maintained,—'every obstacle to Constitutional Emancipation is taken out of the way, and the Government is, and must be, if true to itself, wholly on the side of liberty. Such a government can receive the sanction and support of every abolitionist, whether in a moral or military point of view.'"

Mr. Garrison's opinion of the legal situation seems peculiar, when he thus declares that in September, 1862, the Union had been dissolved, and so a government might be "sanctioned" which was endeavoring to save that Union from being dissolved. The theory of State Suicide within the Union

sounds more legally and ethically tenable than this restatement of Mr. Garrison's idea.

I cannot say exactly what opinion Mrs. Chace held in 1861-62 of the legal situation, but since all her later sympathy was given to Mr. Phillips in his divergence from Mr. Garrison, becoming first apparent in 1862, it is probable that as an Abolitionist she agreed with him from the beginning. But being what she was as an individual, she could not think that her young boys had a right to decide for themselves, in opposition to her principles, and take that allegiance oath. This scruple, however, must have passed later, but her peace principles remained unabated in force. It was wrong to fight even "to make men free." She never in the least modified this opinion.

That is all there is to be said about it; she did not want her sons to act according to opinions which were not her own. Still, I believe, had the war lasted longer, she would have yielded to the more adult conviction and desire of her son Sam. Yet there was also in her opposition some maternal impotence for self-sacrifice, which I think might be pardoned in a woman who had followed five of her children to the grave, and who now, as a mother, was touched in her most easily quivering fibre. It was Sam who wanted to go to the war, and her feeling was peculiar for him, the first of all her ten babies who had survived infancy. She could hardly bear to let him go out of her sight. "I know why thee wants to go home," said her husband to her when they were together on a summer excursion. "Thee wants to be with Sammie." How could she let that boy go into peril? How could she believe that he could take care of himself away from her, and his brother Arnold? Above all, how could she let Sam do anything of which she, herself, did not morally approve?

He tried several times to gain her consent, but lacked just the characteristics which would have made him act without

her permission. Perhaps, to some extent, both were justified in their attitude, she in her opposition, he both in his desire and in his passive obedience. He was only seventeen when the war began; only a few months over twenty-one when the Rebellion staggered into the abyss.

Once she said to him, "I think the time will come in which thee will be very glad thee did not go into the army."

I suppose she meant that in time he would be glad because he would have accepted her forbidding peace ethic. The boy answered:

"No, I shall never be glad that I did not help to save the Union."

CHAPTER ELEVENTH

ANTI-SLAVERY WORK DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE
WAR; CORRESPONDENCE AND INTERVIEWS WITH PROM-
INENT ABOLITIONISTS; GROWING DIVERGENCE OF
OPINION IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY GROUP

MRS. CHACE TO MARTHA —

“*AUG. 4th, 1861.* In regard to President Lincoln,—
does thou not see that however good may be his de-
sires, he can do very little towards setting things right?
Surrounded as he must be by ambitious, intriguing men, who
are only bent on the advancement of their own interests, he
can be little else than a tool in their hands. Oh! no; for the
removal of the great wrong which we have set up in the place
of all that is called God, until the Nation has become cor-
rupt,—it is useless to look for reform from politicians or
government. It can only come through the awakening of the
consciences of the people, and the inevitable march of those
immutable laws by which finally,

‘Ever the right comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done.’ ”

In the summer of 1861, Mr. and Mrs. Garrison came to
Valley Falls, to stay a few days. Mrs. Chace and I were in
the Homestead yard to meet their coming. Mr. Garrison
looked benignly imposing as he entered beside his wife. He
was a handsome man of noble presence,—but his countenance
had the kind of dignified beauty, of which one does not often
think as being exactly physical beauty,—yet such it was.

The domed brow ; the clear complexion, the kindly eyes, which could glow with passion, though they seldom did ; the modeled features all were fine, and his mouth was rarely perfect,—its outlines were so firm and yet had such appearance of capacity to express emotion. He was easily entertained ; he liked to drive, liked to sit quietly on the southeastern piazza of the house, and he delighted in the simple landscape prospect thence, which was very rural. He liked to drink glasses of milk between meals, and every time I brought him one, he smiled and repeated a little jest, “I am fond of the Milky Way.” He walked from the hall to his favorite piazza place, rejoicing in the summer sunshine, and saying of each day, “This is a day that the Lord hath made.”

Once, he stood in Mrs. Chace’s library, picked up a small volume from the mantelshelf, looked at it, and laid it down. It was Lowell’s Poems. “Ah,” said the Abolition Leader, “Harvard has been enchanted ground for James. I knew it would be that and I tried to get him not to go there. He was very sure it would not make any difference to him, if he went. But it has all worked as I thought it would.”

Mrs. Chace gave assent to Mr. Garrison’s words. Later I asked what he had meant, and she told me of Lowell’s apparent lapse from the Anti-Slavery Movement after he became a Harvard Professor.

L. B. C. TO LUCY F. LOVELL

“*Valley Falls, Aug. 13, 1861.* Mr. Garrison and his wife came Thursday night and in the morning Mr. Garrison went into Providence and returned bringing with him his only daughter, Miss Helen Frances Garrison—called Fanny, a pretty, bright girl of 16, overflowing with fun—in that respect resembling her respected ‘pater’ as she termed him, only of course her fun is of a younger and more girlish sort.

“Saturday morning we were going huckleberrying, Mr.



Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Garrison with us. Only think of it, going huckleberrying with a man whose name shall live fresh and green when the Napoleons are forgotten. But alas, we were destined to be disappointed; the morning was cloudy and threatened rain. Fanny and I substituted a walk with Mr. Garrison and Arnold.

"Sunday evening we had company to hear the great Abolitionist converse. A part of the evening we were in the library, cutting up, leaving the sober old folks to the quiet possession of the parlor, but finally we adjourned to the parlor, and heard Garrison, and any one else who chose to talk. I had the pleasure of hearing my handsome, last year married, cousin James talk real good anti-slavery, part of which may be owing to his subscribing to the *Liberator* the day he was married, Lucretia having said she would like it.

"Monday we went huckleberrying without Mr. Garrison, because he and his wife and daughter thought he would get all tired and burnt. His wife said he always burnt his nose and looked like an old toper. We—six of us—got twenty-eight quarts, and on our return were greeted by all in the vestibule, Mr. Garrison, according to his habit, waving his hat to us, and Fanny, in pulling off hers to respond, pulled off her net, and down streamed her hair, nearly to her waist, so we entered the yard with screams of laughter."

Mrs. Chace had probably consulted with the Garrison parents and received their sanction, when at an early hour in this visit she gave a copy of *Aurora Leigh* to Fanny and Lillie, and told them that she thought it would be well for them to occupy themselves in reading that book together. They did so read it. Both were fascinated with the poem, and Lillie was fascinated by her companion.

Mrs. Chace has referred in her *Reminiscences* to the petitioning done by Abolitionists during the Civil War. She was

busy in this work, obtaining signatures herself, and sending her children on expeditions from house to house with instructions to give simple explanations of their object, to show the petition to whosoever would read it, but to be politely ready to read it themselves to anybody who they suspected might be unprepared to do such perusing, because spectacles or previous education were lacking. She was scrupulous; children were not to be asked to sign, nor really unintelligent persons, "but so and so would understand, ask him or her," were the directions. The juvenile circulators seldom met with absolute refusal, but one reason was that they avoided going to persons who were known to think the Abolitionists to blame because war had come.

Mrs. Chace forwarded her petitions to Charles Sumner, for him to present.

LOUISE C. HOPPIN TO MRS. CHACE

"*Providence, Nov. 16th, 1861.* I am very sorry to appear so uncourteous as to return your circular without attending to the request contained in your letter.

"I respect your sentiments upon the subject, although I differ from you, in many points, essentially. I think with you, that Slavery is a curse upon our land; and, indirectly, one cause of our present troubles; that it makes us a Nation [of] barbarians, and retards our progress in the Southern States. Still, Slavery is Constitutionally allowed in certain States; and I have great regard for the Constitution, and also for the feelings of our Southern brethren, who innocently inherit the property and prejudices of their forefathers.

"I have implicit faith that God in His own good time will overturn this institution, and I regard this present war as His way, and meant for so doing.

"I cannot *conscientiously* circulate this paper, neither have I a single friend or acquaintance in this city who would

desire to do so. I fear that it will only add fresh fuel to the fire of evil passions in the bosoms of the Southerners. We have done so well so far, adhering to the Constitution and not meddling with the rights of others, unless they had forfeited them by treason, that I do not want to lift one finger towards producing more malignity than they feel now towards us.

"We must pray and trust;—God rules, and will take care of us, and the slaves too. I think we ought to leave it to Him.

"Forgive me for my presumption in giving you my ideas on the subject.

"Believe me I am very sorry to differ from you, and to return your circular without being able to help you in filling it up."

Mrs. Chace, reading this letter, probably remembered freshly that there were several millions of people in the country who had never committed "treason," but whose "rights" had been very seriously "meddled with."

The subjoined letter is written on white paper edged with red and blue, and its contents prove that it refers to the petitioning effort of 1861.

MRS. EDWARD HARRIS TO MRS. CHACE

"*Woonsocket, Dec. 5th.* I have been making an effort to procure signers, and have obtained a few. The number of voters is small. The majority of men here prefer to stand on the fence ready to jump with the crowd. I have been rather astonished at the number who have refused to sign, though my hopes were not extravagant."

"In the *Liberator* for December 13th, 1861, the passage from John Quincy Adams on the iniquity of the three-fifths representation clause in the Constitution, which had so long stood at the head of the first page, was supplanted by Adams's declaration of the war-powers of the Government in respect

to slavery; and the shibboleth, 'The United States Constitution is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' gave way to the command, 'Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.' "

(Biography of Garrison by his sons, Vol. IV, page 39.)

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"Last Tuesday I got a lively little letter from Fanny Garrison. How happy and fortunate Mr. and Mrs. Garrison are in their children! Mr. Pillsbury says, 'Mr. Garrison is the richest man in Boston.'

"I could not bear the idea of giving up the Festival as Mrs. Chapman seems to have counselled. Fanny wrote to acknowledge the receipt of \$40 I had solicited. The times are hard and the war takes about all people can spare.

"I dare say you have read Mr. Garrison's recent speech in N. Y., and the *Independent* with its kind, good notice after the speech was made. I hope this is an augury of better things in the *Independent* towards that faithful apostle of Liberty. How glad I am the *Tribune* published this speech. It seems to me the first fair chance Mr. Garrison has ever had to get his real sentiments before the people."

So much has been published on what may be called the Administration and Governmental side as to the war and Reconstruction issues which concerned slavery,—such a great and encompassing glory surrounds the figure of the chief actor and martyr of that era, that it seems only just to the memory of Lincoln's critics, and to Mrs. Chace as one of them, to bring forward occasionally some suggestion of the reasons for that critical opinion, some slight evidence of the existence of a vast body of rational feeling which was opposed to him and to the other conservatives in the government.

"The session opened in Dec. 1861. The President was still cautious. Sumner regretted to find that his message, read to him before it was sent to Congress, was silent on the great theme. One paragraph however hinted at compensated emancipation and colonization. He (Sumner) was grieved to hear from the President's own lips that he had stricken from Cameron's report the recommendation of the arming of the slaves."

(Pierce's Memoir of Charles Sumner, Vol. IV, page 63.)

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jan. 24th, 1862.* How exactly like your good husband to say he was willing his business should all go, rather than the poor slaves not have their freedom. In my mind's eye, I see his benign countenance look just as it did, while saying the words. Oh, Mrs. Chace, it is a very precious thing to share the companionship of such a noble soul. May his sons be like him."

MRS. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"What sad news from the seat of war, what bereavements in families, what aching hearts! Would they could all see the cause of it as we do!

"If such brutality is practised upon our soldiers, what cruelties must have been inflicted upon the poor slaves for seventy years of bondage."

As an indication of the feeling of the time, among radical Abolitionists, portions of a letter from Dr. Howe are given.

DR. SAMUEL G. HOWE TO F. W. BIRD

[from the Journals and Letters of Samuel Gridley Howe,
page 500]

"*Washington, D. C., March 5, 1862.* The President has been long on the anxious seat; but has at last had a change

of heart, and has set his face steadily Zionward, though he is as yet rather ashamed of his Lord. He considers slavery to be a great stumbling-block in the way of human progress, and especially of this country. He feels that whoever has a hand in its removal will stand out before posterity as a benefactor of his race. Why in the world, then, does he not 'speak out in meeting' and relieve his mind? Simply because of his habit of procrastinating: he puts off and puts off the evil day of effort, and stands shivering with his hand on the string of the shower bath. He has, however, gone so far as even to make up a message to Congress, which, if sent, will prove to be a bomb-shell. If he is not further demoralized by victories, he will be brought up to the scratch."

The last sentence quoted from Dr. Howe's letter was undoubtedly prompted by an idea, of which very little record has been made in later writings, but which certainly did prevail to some extent at that time among a portion of the radical anti-slavery people.

They had hoped that the government would proceed rapidly towards emancipation, and being disappointed in this hope, they did hold the opinion, or at least seriously entertained the thought, that some defeat in battle would be morally better than victory for the North.

They grew afraid of a too speedy overthrow of the Confederacy, which would leave slavery intact. They accepted the stern alternative, which the situation seemed to force upon their desire. I well remember hearing such Abolitionists, Mrs. Chace among the number, express a quietly sorrowful preference for defeat to our arms, based upon the conviction that such defeat would be the terrible, curative medicine which the Northern people and the Northern government needed.

The following letters are evidence of the agitated feeling

and the wavering thought of the period, but they also show, by implication, that Mrs. Chace was always on the side of action.

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Hyannis, Mass., March 24th, 1862.* It has been intimated to me that you are of opinion that there should be an Anti-Slavery Convention either at Pawtucket or Providence.

"My idea is that such a movement cannot be made too soon. And any coöperation in my power to render, would be a most agreeable service on my part.

"You know there are those who distrust my judgment and wisdom, (not my integrity) of late, in mode of dealing with our great enterprise at the present time. It is quite possible you doubt the wisdom of my course, as you saw it in the proceedings of the meeting at Albany, and as I have endeavored to disclose it, in all my letters to the *Standard*.

"I dare not yet trust the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause in the hands of the present, any more than in any former, Presidential administration. Nor do I see how we can any more change our mottoes, and our glorious old battle cry, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' than we might have done at the election of General Taylor and Millard Fillmore, and so I have to hold on as before.

"It seems to me the Proclamation of General Burnside 'to the people of North Carolina' should open all eyes not closed in the apocalyptic '*second death*' by unanimous vote.

"Mr. and Mrs. Foster told me that they had seen you; that a convention would be very acceptable to you and those in your vicinity, and asked me to confer with you on the subject. Should you have a convention, you should, I think, have Mr. Garrison and Mr. May among your speakers.

"It seems to me the strictures of Mr. Garrison on the President's late message are excellent. So also on General Burnside's Proclamation."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Leicester, April 6, 1862.* I had heard from E. H. Heywood of the desire for a meeting in Providence. I am sure the country needs the warning voice and guiding truths of the Anti-Slavery cause,—never more. And I also see that the Abolitionists never needed to be guided by the very highest wisdom more than now. I deem it our duty to give the Administration full credit for every measure which looks at all favorably towards Abolition, and equally our duty to expose, before the people, its faults and shortcomings,—which, after all, are the *people's faults*, in the first instance. I say this, to pass for what it is worth, because there should be no misunderstanding.

"I suppose that Providence would be the best place for the meeting. There is no chance of having Phillips whatever. His Western tour is protracting itself. The mob at Cincinnati published far and wide the fact that he was on a Lecturing Tour in the West, and the invitations to speak are thickening in his path. Should he get back alive, and in season, he will yet be so used up, that I am sure he will speak nowhere before the New York Annual Meeting, unless to fulfill engagements already made, and I know of none.

"Garrison's health has been so indifferent of late, that he has had to recall several appointments for lectures. So I doubt if he would go. Besides, I know he thinks that it is the present policy of the pro-slavery party in the North to make every possible appeal to the mob-spirit, and that *our* wisdom is to give them no opportunities for rallying the supporters of slavery and thus proclaiming their allegiance to the Slaveholders. Still, he says, every demonstration of mob violence helps the cause of Freedom onward. Knowing this, and knowing our need of impressing the great and solemn duties of the hour upon the people, and that the time is exceeding precious, I rejoice in the movement for a Convention in R. I., and hope

that we may be able to rally a force of speakers to make it worth while to hold it. No doubt there would be an effort to bring out the rowdies, but I don't believe it would meet with any success. To make a mob do good service now, (to the cause of Freedom,) I think it advisable not to let it get the upper hand. I should certainly attend if able. You would hold it for two days I suppose."

The Cincinnati mob referred to above was the one in which a stone was thrown at Wendell Phillips and just passed his cheek, as he stood on the platform. He said of this incident afterwards, "I really imagined I was back in Boston." The reader is requested to note Mr. May's letter particularly, because, in guarded phrase, it gives early hint of the differences of opinion which were soon to make Mr. Garrison hold himself aloof from Mr. Phillips' movement, and to criticize it as he stood aloof. When the letter was written, Mr. Phillips was riding over the land, speaking at the immediate peril of his life, to the exhaustion of his physical strength and the permanent injury of his voice. Mr. Garrison was apparently questioning the wisdom of bold vocal anti-slavery utterance which reflected upon the Administration policy, while Mr. May was thinking that some speech was necessary, but should be carefully balanced to do justice to all persons.

The mob which literally stoned Phillips in Cincinnati on March 24 was symptomatic of a perturbed spirit in the North. The government in that stormy March had made tentative proposals in Congress for action looking towards the compensated abolition of slavery. The technically unseceded but half rebellious Border States were growling at the idea, and the pro-slavery Unionists and the half disloyal party in the North were maddened to renewed feeling that the Abolitionists and not the slaveholders had brought on the war, of which the pain and horror were now deeply felt.

Mrs. Chace went on with her efforts to get up public meetings. She did not relinquish her plan to hold a convention in Providence and was also coöperating in arrangements for two or three minor speakers to be heard at single meetings in various parts of the State.

The following extracts from a draft of a letter illustrate the position taken by herself and her husband in this time.

“VALLEY FALLS, March 31st, 1862.

*“To the Committee having Charge of the
Meeting House.*

“GENTLEMEN: As the question of our accepting or refusing the use of the meeting house for a lecture on the state of the country was left undecided, I have thought it was time you were informed of our conclusion. As I understood your reply to our application it was this; that you would grant us the use of the vestry, on condition that we pay the expense of lighting and warming it and for the services of the sexton, and that we take all the responsibility [for] any damage that might be done to the building by persons who might wish to disturb the meeting.

“Our reply is this; the usual expenses we should choose to pay; [but] our motive in desiring such a lecture being a wish that our community should be informed by a person, who has made the subject his study, as to the true causes and the remedy for the deplorable state in which our Nation is now suffering a terrible, yet righteous retribution; therefore, it is a subject in which all lovers of Truth should be equally desirous with ourselves that the people should receive enlightenment.

“If we owned a building suitable for such a lecture, we should not hesitate a moment to risk it.

“Were we to accept the use of your house on such terms, it being known that yourselves and the owner of the Hall had

acknowledged fear of the spirit of violence and inability to stand up against it, it would be an incitement and encouragement to that spirit, and therefore our accepting it on such terms [would be] very different from [its use] if we owned the house.

"We, therefore, are compelled to decide, as there is no public building in Valley Falls that is not subject to the spirit of violence and lawlessness, that any means we have to spend for the proclamation of Truth and Justice and Love of Peace on earth and Good Will to men, shall be spent elsewhere, till in more prosperous days, we, or those who come after us, shall be led to erect a suitable house for such teaching, as shall in time work for our community a reformation, which shall lead all to regard the rights of others as equal to their own.

Yours respectfully,

SAMUEL B. CHACE,

ELIZABETH B. CHACE."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, April 18, 1862.* Phillips has returned home, and last evening gave a magnificent speech on his visit to Washington and the West, and the State of the Country generally, to a crowded audience in Tremont Temple.

"This morning I have mentioned to him the R. I. Convention. He says that he cannot do anything in the speaking line for some time to come. An amount of work has accumulated, that he must have some quiet time to attend to.

"Pillsbury and I therefore think that the whole plan had better be deferred to the latter part of May, perhaps, or even into June.

"Miss D[ickinson] arrived here at 6.30 yesterday, p.m., barely in time to keep an appointment at Neponset. I shall be glad to hear your opinion of her, as a speaker, and a helper to our Cause."

"The bill [to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia,] which was opposed chiefly by Garrett Davis and other border state men, passed both Houses by a considerable majority, [in April, 1862]. The President was understood to have doubts as to some of its provisions and to hesitate in approving it. During the suspense Sumner said to him, 'Do you know who at this moment is the largest slave-holder in this country? It is Abraham Lincoln; for he holds all the three thousand slaves of the District, which is more than any other person in the country holds,' and expressed surprise that the President could postpone approval a single night."

(Pierce's Memoir of Charles Sumner, Vol. IV, page 70.)

C. C. KNOWLES TO MRS. CHACE

"*East Greenwich, April 20, 1862.* I have taken time to confer with those who I thought would be most likely to aid in defraying the expenses of a State Convention, but I regret to inform thee that I have received no reliable assurances of help. The apathy and ignorance which prevail hereabout are proof of the need of the proposed Convention. It will give me great pleasure to attend personally and contribute all I can.

"Thy kind note came to hand too late to admit of my attending A. E. Dickinson's lecture in Providence.

"The world moves! The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia is a proof of it. Let us labor the more assiduously for Universal Emancipation."

In this spring of 1862, Anna Dickinson spent some time at Mrs. Chace's. That brilliant young creature was then at the beginning of her brief but marvelous career as an orator. She was nineteen years old, a Pennsylvania girl who had been reared by a Quaker mother. Anna said, "I don't believe any girl ever loved her mother better than I love mine," but she



ANNA ELIZABETH DICKINSON

early broke through the Quaker bonds in which that mother would fain have held her. She divined her own talent, and at the age of eighteen she made an address at a meeting of the Progressive Friends which attracted attention. She came, the next spring, to New England, engaged to deliver a Sunday lecture in a course then being given at Music Hall in Boston.

While staying in the Homestead she spoke at meetings called in the vicinity.

She was a handsome brunette, possessed of a glowing complexion and magnificent gray eyes. Her black hair rippled in loose waves about her head. She wore it short, according to a fashion not then unusual for young women. She was girlish looking and not tall.

She said "thee" with all Quaker propriety, and her dress was of a style halfway between that of Quakerism and the world. She wore a scoop-shaped, black velvet bonnet. She looked at New England girls, who, were they Quaker affiliated or not, then mostly wore hats. Her spirit rose within her. She borrowed my best hat to wear. She bought one like it, cut up her bonnet, and used the velvet for trimming.

Mrs. Chace was a little amused and a little disturbed by Anna's action.

"Why," she exclaimed, "thee can never make up that bonnet again."

"No," answered the child who was soon to win doubtful state elections for the Republican Party. "No, I have put that temptation behind me."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"221 Washington St., Boston, April 22, 1862. Providence is fastidious as to whom it will go to hear on these extra occasions. We can hardly comply with the conditions of a Convention. All expectation of Phillips must be given up; and I cannot urge him. He says, truly, that he has been speak-

ing very continuously since the beginning of the lecturing season last Fall,—and now needs rest of mind and body, though he doesn't say this. And if he speaks at all, it must be at places where he has engaged to give his first disengaged time. I have written so much about this, that you may know just the reasons for P.'s declining.

“As to Garrison, for the same and other reasons I feel there is no prospect of his going to Providence.

“We might have a single day's meeting to good purpose. P. P. is however—I must say it, as my opinion—not in a quite healthy state of mind. Not that I fear any discussion or dispute arising with him. I am willing he should utter his mind freely. When he heard of the President's signing the Bill for Abolition in the District of Columbia, he said he dreaded to give way to any rejoicing, for he had noticed that any *good* thing in the Government was quite sure to be followed by some extraordinary baseness!

“I have arranged to have Miss Dickinson return to you, after Sunday next, and give her A. S. lecture in Providence and her Woman's Rights lecture in Pawtucket.”

Mr. May's letters to Mrs. Chace relating to Miss Dickinson are full of careful plans for the young girl, arranging where she should stay, by what routes and at what hours she should travel.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

“*Leicester, Mass., April 27, 1862.* You are entirely right in all you say of the need of very judicious treatment, in Miss D.'s case. It must be a great trial and even danger, to so young a person, to be the object of so much interest, to receive so much public applause, and to possess so great and happy a talent for holding and swaying the minds of large audiences. In Boston, however, she seemed to be very much

depressed, and appeared to need to be reassured. She had been under pretty high nervous pressure, in view of speaking to Theodore Parker's congregation, and had not slept a wink the whole night before, nor eaten a mouthful of breakfast that morning, as Mr. Garrison informed me. I could wish she might be much with you, for the kind, *motherly* interest you feel in her would surely be for her benefit.

"I heartily agree in all you say of Parker Pillsbury. He is among the foremost of our most faithful and most assiduous workers, and has been so for five and twenty years! And a very good proportion of the anti-slavery people agree with him, *now*, and think he is wholly wise and right. I do not think just so, but I recognize the great value and power of his labors; and I do not think there *need* any harm come from the fullest statement of his opinions in public, and argument upon them.

"But on this point there is a difference of opinion; and it is true that Mr. G. dislikes the controversy with P. P., which is pretty sure to arise in meetings which they attend together. At Albany, P. P. spoke in a strain which led G. to think that he—P.—considered him—G.—as misleading, not to say, deceiving the public mind, by crying 'Peace, Peace, when there was no Peace.' 'So help me, God,' P. added, 'I will not be found so doing.' All which, and more, G. took as quite personal and invidious; and thinks the best way to avoid unpleasant feelings, etc., is to avoid the discussions. I name this for your own consideration, leaving it wholly to your wisdom to use it as you judge best."

Thus taken into the inner councils, knowing and having known the Cause and the workers for nearly thirty years, reverencing Mr. Garrison, having been his stanch adherent in many earlier dissensions, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, from this time on, used her best wisdom, and steadily moved forward

in the pathway wherein Wendell Phillips was the Leader, and Parker Pillsbury strode like a herald proclaiming the Doom of the Apocalypse upon them who delayed to do Righteousness.

Mrs. Chace attended nearly all public meetings held in Boston by the Anti-Slavery Societies during the years of war, and heard almost all of the stormy public debate in that city between the two leaders of the Garrisonian phalanx. The biographers of both men have tried to minimize the differences that arose in the war time between Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison. I can only say that I thought at the time that those differences were very great. My thought then, however, was only that of a child moving about among the great shapers of Anti-Slavery policy, and hearing words which seemed to her as sounding from higher spheres. Much later study which I have given to the situation as it was then, and to subsequent events, has confirmed the opinion held by the child.

It would be impossible now to say whether or not Mrs. Chace agreed with everything which Mr. Phillips said of men and measures during those years when men and measures kept shifting like changes in the cloud aspects of a thunder storm; but she certainly did agree with all his main ideas of the course which Abolitionists should take during the war and the succeeding years.

Once or twice, I heard her say in thoughtful tone, "Mr. Garrison thinks this or that," and add no comment; but she invariably voted in the meetings on Mr. Phillips' side, and this means that she voted always with the majority in the Anti-Slavery societies.

In May, 1862, Mr. Phillips, speaking in New York, avowed himself in favor of confiscating the lands of the rebels, saying: "I want confiscation. . . . We have a right to it in the laws against treason; we have a right to it on all historical

and national grounds. We want it in order to tempt the army to remain in the South as colonists. I want them there to aid the blacks as guard and nucleus to free institutions." He touched lightly on the question of holding the conquered South as Territorial possession, approving it as the "only safe" method "until Freedom creates a government in the Carolinas."

In later speeches in the succeeding two years, he expressed great objection to such Territorial possession for any length of time. He never quite adopted the Butler and Sumner theory that the States as such had actually committed "suicide" by their acts of rebellion. He, however, never quite disavowed it as a tenable legal theory; he simply felt it dangerous to the democratic character of our government to hold the South long as conquered territory. From this time on, both before and after the Emancipation proclamation, he urged the confiscation of the large estates held by rebels, the giving or selling them in small lots to both whites and blacks, bestowing the suffrage at once upon the negroes and loyalist Northern or Southern born then resident in the South, and also, at least by inference, on the rank and file of the conquered rebels, as soon as any terms could be decently made with them; and then the speediest possible restoration to the Union of the Southern States; and he always opposed the execution of rebels by judicial or military trials after the war should have ceased, but he did once or twice advocate their banishment from the country on pain of death if they returned.

His opinion of Lincoln varied a little from time to time. In May, 1862, he censured him for being "slow" and for feeling really more desire to please the Southern white rebels than to do full justice to loyal or enslaved negroes.

Mrs. Chace was one of the vice-presidents of the N. E. A. S. Convention in Boston on May 28, 1862.

ANNA E. DICKINSON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Phila., June 16th, 1862.* How has thee been since I saw thee in Boston? I was sorry to have been with thee so little then. My visit to New England taught me many things; chief among them, was a fuller appreciation of the great cause in which we are all interested, and the need for earnest, unselfish labor. And with this a better understanding of my own lack of knowledge; and general unfitness; and an earnest determination to strive after that which would make my work better and more effective in the future.

"What has thee been reading? Do tell me has thee gone through *The Rejected Stone* [by M. D. Conway] and if so, did thee ever read anything so altogether conclusive and grand?

"I have just finished '*John Brent.*' What a wonderful soul is looking out through its pages! '*John Brent*' is Theodore Winthrop."

The letter from which a passage is given below is dated only July 22, but unquoted allusions make it probable that it was written in 1862.

MRS. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER TO MRS. CHACE

"How rapidly our Nation drives on to destruction. I am thankful our Anti-Slavery friends are coming to their vision. Though from C. K. Whipple's letter in the next [to the] last *Liberator*, I judge there remains a willingness to 'compromise' again."

Moncure Daniel Conway came to Valley Falls late in the summer of 1862. He had just returned from Washington, D. C., whence he had conducted forty of his father's slaves through Maryland to assured freedom in Ohio. He delivered a lecture in Pawtucket, telling of his recent journey to succor

and to save. I shall never forget his manner, as he described the moment when, as a coming redeemer, he entered into the presence of the men, women and children whom he was to free. "Then," he said, "I recognized the hour for which I was born."

This wonderful Virginian was Mrs. Chace's guest for twenty-four hours. She hated tobacco, and he genially requested permission to go into the cellar to smoke. Instead of going there, he and I walked to the banks of the Blackstone River through what was then an extremely beautiful grove of hemlock trees. In later years, Samuel Longfellow loved that grove.

Mr. Conway told us of the project to revive *The Commonwealth* in Boston, of which he and Frank B. Sanborn were for a time joint editors. Mrs. Chace subscribed for this paper for me.

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"I read yesterday Mr. Phillips' great speech on the first of August. His speech is full of wise instruction, if only the Government will hear and obey it."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Aug. 7, 1862.* I find your letter desiring to know what I intend doing, in case any of my sons are drafted for the war.

"I have three sons of the requisite age—George, William and Wendell. Wendell is in principle opposed to all fighting with carnal weapons. So is William. In any case, they will not go to the tented field but will abide the consequences. George is inclined to think he shall go, if drafted, as he does not claim to be a non-resistant.

"Your sons have not reached their majority, and consequently are still under recognized parental care. Whether opposed in principle or not to all war, like my own sons, they

are liable to be drafted and if they refuse to go when called, I presume neither pleas of conscience nor the claims of filial obedience will avail aught with 'the powers that be.' What the penalties of refusal will be, I do not know; but, no doubt, they can be made pretty severe in the matter of fine and imprisonment, unless substitutes are hired; and one conscientiously opposed to all war could not employ another to do what he could not do himself.

"I do not know that I can give you any specific advice. The war is shaping itself, as a matter of necessity on the part of the government, into an Anti-Slavery war, more and more, and it seems to me cannot end in the suppression of the rebellion without at the same time exterminating slavery. Still, if I had no conscientious scruples as a peace advocate against enlisting so long as the government is struggling, avowedly and solely, to maintain 'the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is,'—the old 'covenant with death and the agreement with hell,'—I do not see how I, or any other radical abolitionist, could consistently fight to maintain it. And it is my hope that George, though not a non-resistant, will take the penalties of disobedience as the friend and representative of the slave, until entire emancipation is the declared policy of the government.

"I do not object to my children suffering any hardships, or running any risks, in the cause of liberty and the support of great principles, if duty requires it; but I wish them to know themselves, to act from the highest and noblest motives, and to be true to their conscientious convictions.

"I trust you and your husband will be spared the pain and anguish of seeing either of your sons drafted; and I am inclined to think the liability of a draft, unless a still larger requisition be made by the government, is growing less and less probable. You must give them the best advice in your power, but conjure them to act as duty may seem to require.

“Have your sons returned from the White Mountains?

“Wife unites with me in kindest regards to yourself and husband.”

As an evidence of what I have already said in relation to the rapid changes of opinion in this period, which sometimes took place faster than changes in events, I would call the reader's attention to the fact that fifty days after this letter to Mrs. Chace was written Mr. Garrison published the editorial in the *Liberator* in which he maintained (according to his son's biography) that “every obstacle to *Constitutional Emancipation* is taken out of the way, and the Government is, and must be, if true to itself, wholly on the side of liberty. Such a government can receive the sanction and support of every abolitionist, whether in a moral or military point of view.”

The sons say of this, “It was a happy coincidence that the same number of the *Liberator* in which this article appeared should also contain President Lincoln's first Emancipation Proclamation.” This phraseology certainly implies that Mr. Garrison wrote it before he knew of the Proclamation, and the text of the editorial itself confirms this implication.

CHAPTER TWELFTH

PERSONAL AND NATIONAL HISTORY FROM THE AUTUMN OF 1862 TILL MAY, 1865; OPINIONS UPON THE CHARACTER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN; CITED AUTHORITIES; INTERVIEWS WITH WENDELL PHILLIPS AND FREDERICK DOUGLASS; LETTERS UPON PERSONAL AND NATIONAL THEMES FROM WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, MRS. CHACE AND OTHERS

THE autumn of 1862 was one of anxiety. The President had issued his proclamation giving the rebellious states three months in which to decide whether they would return to their allegiance, or submit longer to the chances of war; and threatening them with a further proclamation of emancipation if they chose the latter alternative. The Democratic party gained political victories that fall. All persons of every opinion asked the reason of that gain, and questioned whether the President would go on with his emancipation policy in the face of such apparent disapproval.

Sumner wrote to John Bright, on October 28, 1862: "The hesitation of the Administration to adopt the policy of emancipation led Democrats to feel that the President was against it, and they have generally rallied. I think a more determined policy months ago would have prevented them from showing their hands. The President himself has played the part of the farmer in the fable who warmed the frozen snake at his fire. The colonization delusion is from Montgomery Blair, postmaster general, who has made a convert of the President. Our generals are inefficient, but our troops are excellent."

The Proclamation of the 1st of January was in some minor respects a disappointment to the more radical Abolitionists; but, of course, it inspired even in them a much greater joy and gratitude than thought of criticism.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jan. 6, 1863.* Theodore D. Weld could give Sunday, 18th inst., to Providence. He is engaged to speak at Fall River the Tuesday evening following, and after that for some weeks in N. Hampshire. He would speak twice. Please let me know very soon if you can arrange for that day.

"With heartiest congratulations for the 'letting' so many of 'the oppressed go free,' and that we live to see it!"

MRS. CHACE TO ROBERT F. WALLCUT

"*Jan. 9, 1863.* I have a pretty nearly Anti-Slavery friend, who wishes some works on the good results of Emancipation, that he may give them to two old Democratic acquaintances of his, who have lately taken the 'anxious seat' on this matter, since they have been compelled to admit that Emancipation is inevitable in this country.

"The Right Way, the Safe Way, by Mrs. Child, and Results of Emancipation in the West Indies;—I would like two copies of each, and one copy of the Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year. I send one dollar, supposing that will cover the whole. If it does more, put in any additional testimony that it is safe to do right, for it seems likely to take more than nineteen centuries for the world to learn this fact.

"The bust [of Wendell Phillips] is beautiful. It is wreathed with laurel, and I don't know but a certain little maiden will become an 'idolater.' If there is as good a bust of Garrison, I think my next present must be to myself."

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, March 18, 1863.* It has been in my mind to write you, ever since our January meeting in Boston.

"But since the last *Liberator* came my purpose has been renewed. You remember my Resolution at the Boston anniversary. I recast and rewrote it in accordance mainly with the suggestions of Mr. Phillips, and then gave it to Mr. Garrison to present in the evening; but he saw fit to suppress it, and nothing has been heard of it since.

"At the late meeting in New York State held at Albany I presented a whole series of Resolutions, on what appears to me the real basis of the Old A. S. Societies. You probably saw them in the *Standard*. And you also noticed, perhaps, the opposition they (the Resolutions) met, from the supporters of the popular religion, and the haters of Negro-equality, or justice to the enslaved race.

"I hope you also saw, sad as is the sight, how the Resolutions and all the Proceedings were treated by the *Liberator*. Our opponents at Albany must be greatly delighted to see us *snubbed* thus.

"I have felt for years, that my work was not acceptable in some quarters. No spoken or written word of mine, as you may have observed, ever gets copied from one paper into the other. Richard Webb treats me just so in the *Advocate*, the organ of the British Abolitionists; and so I do not know what to do under so embarrassing, so distressing circumstances.

"My work has been long and hard; the exposures great and many, as my whole bodily and mental system bears witness; and in every hour and place my ambition has been only to be faithful, diligent, earnest and true.

"But for my connection with the Hovey Trust, I should probably long ago have severed all Society connection, and performed my little task wholly alone. I however believe in

associate action. But I am severely tried now; for never in my judgment was it more important to be *radically true* to our most *radical truth and testimony* than at a time like this. The clamor of the Democrats for *Peace* is not more dreadful, nor half as dangerous, as is that of *safety* and security, and *all is going well*, from the Republicans—and we have more perhaps to dread from the partial victory in New Hampshire than from any defeat the Republicans could have suffered. I was on the spot at the time and know the successful candidates, and what may be expected of them. And the country will see and know ere long.

“President Lincoln needs to have his eye ever on, or towards, the polar star of absolute truth. So too, the whole government. But who is to direct the national vision? Not surely any compromising party of politicians.

“Did you see Mr. Sumner’s last motion in the Senate on that infamous Col., now General, Stevenson, who was overhauled in the Department of General Hunter?

“But pardon me. I only wanted to turn your attention to the Albany Resolutions, and to secure you against any sudden surprise, should I be constrained into a course not surely sought, or desired by me, that shall change somewhat my relations to the Anti-Slavery movement: if such a *movement* we have in reality today.

“And with kindest regards and remembrances to yourself and family, I am, as ever, and I trust, forever, theirs and yours.”

There were many phenomena after the Emancipation Proclamation of January first, 1863, which discouraged a large number of the Radicals, as the members of the more advanced wings of both the Republican party and the Abolition group had come to be called. They distrusted Seward and regretted his influence in the Administration. The question now was,

would the Federal government adopt methods which would render the Proclamation anything but a piece of paper? Technically it freed millions of slaves, but practically it merely assured continued liberty to such as had belonged to rebel masters and had already escaped into the Union lines; and it left large districts within seceded States exempted even from its parchment fiat. Moreover, it was a question already under discussion whether John Quincy Adams' theory was correct and the President had any right to issue any such Proclamation, and whether having been issued and accepted as a war measure, it would not cease to be of force the moment the war ended; and if the decision of the Supreme Court should be that the Emancipation Proclamation was legal only as a war measure, the natural conclusion was that the freed people might be remanded back to slavery at the close of the war.

Moncure Conway reports a famous interview with President Lincoln to which much reference may be found in Mr. Phillips' speeches during the next two years. A few sentences from Conway will serve our present purpose, as formerly stated, to help indicate both the facts and the interpretation of them which influenced Lincoln's critics, among whom Mrs. Chace had begun to take her place.

Mr. Conway says—page 376, Vol. I of his Autobiography,—“The President had appointed as ‘military governor’ in so much of North Carolina as his forces occupied, an old politician of the State named Stanly. There had long been a number of North Carolinians opposed to slavery, and pursuant to the President’s proclamation, these formed an association to promote its peaceful application to their State. But the President’s representative, Stanly, went on denouncing abolitionists as strenuously as if the President’s proclamation had been a pro-slavery document, and thwarted the association so bitterly that they appealed to the nation

against him, declaring that he was repressing all their efforts to give practical effect to the President's edict of freedom.

"This and similar facts in the South determined the anti-slavery people in Boston to send a delegation to the President. This delegation consisted of Wendell Phillips, Dr. S. G. Howe, Francis W. Bird, George L. Stearns, J. H. Stephenson, Elizur Wright, the Hon. Oakes Ames and myself."

Mr. Conway reports the interview which this delegation had on January 25, 1863, with Mr. Lincoln. I will not encumber these pages with quotations from the conversation which he records, but merely quote what he says of its effect on the Radicals. "Our delegation returned to Boston with a conviction that the President, with all his forensic ability and his personal virtues, was not competent to grapple with the tremendous combination of issues before him."

Mr. Bird wrote in 1885 of this visit to Washington, saying: "The great defect, in my judgment, in Lincoln's character, was that he ignored moral forces as having anything to do in the government of this world. 'This nation cannot remain half slave and half free'; that is a proposition in political economy. 'I would save the Union without slavery, if I can; with it, if I must'; that is atheism." (Conway's Autobiography, page 383, Vol. I.)

Perhaps the riddle of Abraham Lincoln's character has never been really solved. Martyrdom soon suffused with one great glow all the factors in the puzzle. But the varying purposes and diverse action of men in 1863-64 who were equally honest, patriotic, and even equally anti-slavery can only be understood now by a resolute consideration of the different aspects in which his character appeared to different men at the time. Richard H. Dana was not an Abolitionist; nor was he a consistent thinker, but he was a man of genius and of life-experience. Thus he wrote of Lincoln:

“[1863. *March 9.*] As to the politics of Washington, the most striking thing is the absence of personal loyalty to the President. It does not exist. He has no admirers, no enthusiastic supporters. If a Republican convention were to be held tomorrow, he would not get the vote of a State. He does not act, or talk, or feel like the ruler of a great empire in a great crisis. This is felt by all, and has got down through all the layers of society.”

I am here quoting, the reader will perceive, as elsewhere, from published records of thought and feeling in the war time. I do not mean to convey the impression that Mrs. Chace always agreed exactly with any one of these opinions. Indeed, at the time, she probably did not know that just such opinion was held by each one of my cited authorities. But she did know that similar thought and sentiment were prevalent, and their echoes did enter the Homestead. To make the nature of this prevalent opinion evident to the modern reader it has seemed wiser to quote positive statements which can be verified, even though Mrs. Chace never read these particular statements, rather than to attempt much account of what I remember of the private talk and of the unreported public speech which she heard. There was discussion in Mrs. Chace's presence of the fact that some one had said that Lincoln's jesting and story-telling was like Nero's fiddling while Rome was burning, and she did not disapprove of the fearful comparison.

In judging Mrs. Chace's course during this period, it must be borne in mind that many of the chief actors in the military and political drama had, themselves, developing characters and changing purposes, so that, in frequent cases, what a General, or a Civil officer, or a prominent citizen did or said

in one month either contradicted his past or presented promise for the future which later, to some persons, seemed to have been fulfilled and to others appeared to have been broken.

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

“*Concord, N. H., 29 April, 1863.* A thousand thanks for your kind letter, although it humbled me in the dust. It made me feel that mine, to you, must have contained something which should not have been written.

“Let me say, once for all, and first of all, that you must put no construction on my words, in any letter or place, indicative of any *personal* feeling between me and my noble co-workers in Boston or elsewhere. I trust none of them deem such a state of things possible.

“As to the Albany Resolutions, I did think, as matter of history, they should have gone into the *Liberator*, and I think so still. And it also seemed to me due as a question of fidelity to the Cause. In both, however, I may have been mistaken.

“Then the treatment of my Boston Resolution, and the fact that nothing of my producing ever,—or but only seldom,—gets copied from one of our papers into the other,—altogether [these things] give me the feeling that I am of but very small consequence any longer in the work,—which in my present state of health is most certainly true. For I must tell you that for six weeks I have been wrestling with a very violent attack of pneumonia, being first seized down on Cape Cod where I was confined for three weeks.

“I am very sorry you also report illness in your family.

“You must pardon this letter produced out of much weakness, and try to believe me still true to my mission, and to all my real fellow laborers.

“I thank you for your kind invitation to your delightful home. I am at present too much an invalid to go abroad, but shall hope to come to you at some good time. With very

kindest regards to your family, I am, as ever, very truly and fervently your friend."

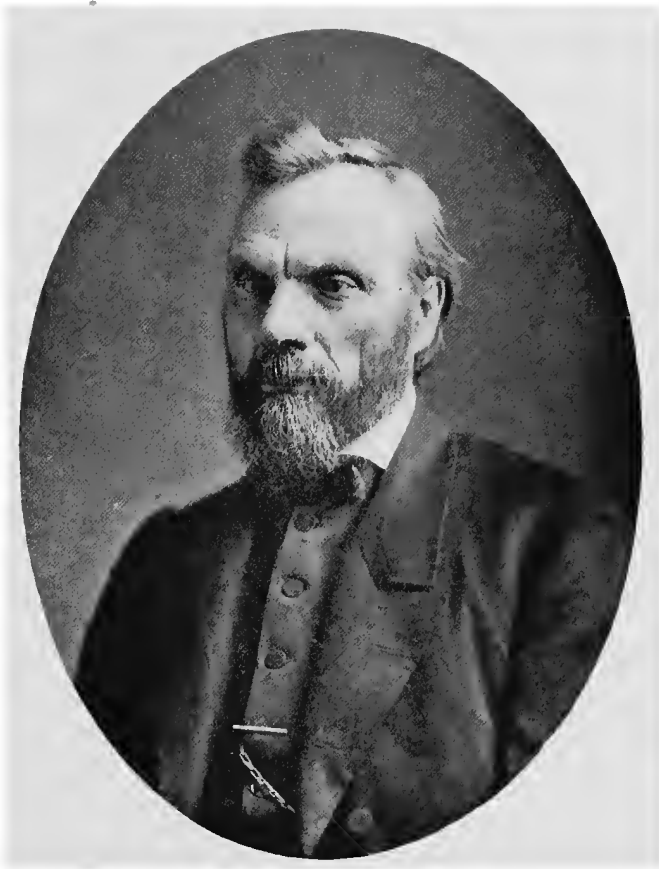
Mrs. Chace took her three eldest children in the summer of 1863 and made a trip through the White Mountains, entering the hilly country by way of Portland, Maine. It was her first journey taken merely for the object of travel. She no longer wore a distinctively Quaker dress. She had, before this, begun to call a few persons Mr. and Mrs. rather than by their Christian names, but she had never said "you" in addressing a single individual unless it was some one who did not readily understand the Quaker speech, with its unusual pronouns coupled sometimes improperly to the verbs. Before starting on this journey, she decided that she would not make herself conspicuous among the strangers whom she must meet by saying "thee" to them. After that her habit of speech varied little to the end of her life. She used courtesy titles freely, yet perhaps not quite so uniformly as most people do, and she said "thee" or "you" to single persons according to some inner feeling of her own.

She met Anna Dickinson on this mountain trip. That young woman, being now at least twenty years old, had lately finished some brilliant campaign speaking, and was making a tour of the mountains, without a chaperon, and also without fear and without reproach. Mrs. Chace asked her:

"Has thy family become reconciled to thy public work?"

"Oh yes!" answered the girl. "What I am doing was all wrong at first. It is all right now. Success, like charity, covers a multitude of sins."

The summer of draft riots was so felt in Valley Falls as a season of terror, that during the days when outrage was most prevalent, Mr. and Mrs. Chace and their children forbore comment on each day's tidings in the presence of their servants, lest report or indignant speech should provoke local



PARKER PILLSBURY

hostility. Mr. Aaron M. Powell visited them soon afterwards and assigned as one reason for having taken a trip then into New England that it had been deemed wise for him to leave New York, lest he should become the object of personal assault.

MARCUS SPRING TO MRS. CHACE

“Perth Amboy, July 22nd, 1863. Yes, my dear sister, we must pity the poor wretches who have been doing the fearful deeds that have so shocked us. I have had talks with Irishmen and not a few see that the emancipation of the Slaves is not going to lessen their wages, and some even admit that, if it did, a man’s being black is no valid reason why he shouldn’t have his earnings; and they admit they like the Bishop of Buffalo—who preached against mobs, and cried, ‘Shame on the treatment of the colored people,’—better than Bishop Hughes, whom I take every occasion to undermine in their confidence and affection.”

The peace principle, not treason, underlies the expressions of the subjoined letter.

E. H. HEYWOOD TO MRS. CHACE

“Boston, Oct. 2, 1863. Do tell me if there is anything being done for your R. I. Quaker conscripts sent to Fort Columbus to be tried by Court Martial as deserters. They are entirely right in refusing to bear arms or pay the fine in obedience to this despotic, wicked Conscription; no doubt the Peace Principle is worth dying for. But is the Government so mad as to order their execution as deserters?

“When they are tried I hope there will be several Providence Friends to stand with them and speak for them if opportunity is allowed. How is it with Doctor Tobey? Possibly there may be some of George Fox left in him.

"Is there no lawyer who would go on? Of course there would be no chance,—or I suppose not—for a legal argument, but the mere presence of some of your leading citizens at the trial would tend greatly to alleviate the fate of these brave, loving brothers."

JAMES LAWTON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Oct. 18, 1863.* When I wrote to you I was partially under a cloud, the political horizon having been obscured by the apparent ascendancy of the dark Democracy. But Ohio has been thoroughly aroused and has swept away the foul curtains that seemed to shroud her.

"There were many reasons for our failure last Fall. Our people were somewhat discouraged about the War, and the Democratic stumpers made many believe that, if elected, they would prosecute the War with more vigor. This with the absence of our soldiers, and the use which was made to prejudice the ignorant against the President's edict of Emancipation, all combined to produce the defeat.

"The past summer has been a season of great excitement here. We had the Morgan Raid. Many in the State suffered, and many more were badly frightened. I confess I felt more uneasiness with regard to our election, feeling that if Vallandigham was elected, and his friends carried out their threats, we would have a Civil War worse in all its effects than all the raids of all the Morgans.

"My brother Jesse has two sons in the army. We are continually doing all we can for the sick and wounded. My daughter has taken quite an active part. I suppose—but in writing, let no one allude to it—she had a very delicate interest in the war, at the outset, but, in one of these bloody battles, that interest was forever blighted.

"I said from the start the South must be humbled, and I never doubted but if we succeeded in breaking down this re-

bellion, slavery would be crippled if not annihilated. I fully justified the President in the cautious course he has pursued in regard to slavery, not that justice required any such forbearance, but as a matter of expediency in prosecuting the War. The nation was diseased to the heart with slavery, and to attempt to eradicate that disease at once would have greatly endangered our cause."

MRS. CHACE TO BENJAMIN BUFFUM

[From a draft]

"*Valley Falls, 25th, 11th mo., 1863.* In the year 1860, when the call for the gathering of the 'male graduates' of the Friends' School was issued, I was surprised and pained at its exclusive character, and I felt that I should be violating one fundamental principle of my Quakerism, if I sanctioned a meeting where women were not admitted on an equality with men. I was afterwards assured this method of the call was purely accidental, and that hereafter all would be right.

"Deeply attached to the principles of the Society in which I was born and educated; and having the most agreeable recollections of the Institution where I completed my school life, I was glad of this common ground on which I could unite with those who came together to renew the friendships of their youthful years. Accordingly, I attended the second meeting, and in the warmth of my enthusiasm I, too hastily, gave my name and subscription.

"When, in the course of the proceedings, I found that the officers were all men, and that really the women were merely spectators, I felt it my duty to protest, and to urge a more Quakerly course. I could not do this in the meeting, because I am entirely unfitted for public speaking; but I said what I could to members outside.

"The succeeding year I did not attend the meeting, but, when I received the records of its proceedings, I found that

the presence of the women was still wholly ignored. Of course I could not remain a member of the Association.

"Having understood that membership in the Association required the payment of a yearly subscription, I supposed that, if I withheld mine, my name would be stricken from the list,—and having been obliged to do many things in obedience to my conscience, which have placed me a little outside of the sympathies of those with whom in early life I was so nearly associated, and being extremely sensitive to the opinions and feelings of others concerning me, I desired to withdraw as silently as I could, and therefore, I made no reply to the last year's call upon me for a subscription.

"Thy note of yesterday convinces me that I ought no longer to withhold from the Alumni Association the expression of my conviction that while it occupies the ground that women are subordinate, I cannot give it my support."

Mr. Phillips came to the Homestead during the lecture season of 1863-64. It was soon after the publication of the story of Lincoln's betrothal to Ann Rutledge, and people did not then know whether or not it was authentic. There was an engraved likeness of Lincoln in Mrs. Chace's dining room. Mr. Phillips stood a few moments, gazing at it. "Lincoln looks," he said, "as though that story might be true. There is an expression in his face like that of a man who had gone through some such awful experience."

President Lincoln sent to Congress his Amnesty Message in December, 1863, the terms of which seemed to Mr. Phillips to indicate such an unsound view of the necessities of reconstruction and such an infirm purpose as to the abolition of slavery itself, that from that time he began to express doubts of the fitness of Lincoln for reelection. Before this his utterances since the Emancipation Proclamation had been such, on the whole, as to imply that he had taken it for granted

that Lincoln would be the proper candidate for the next Presidential term. He now made special comment on the fact that the Emancipation Proclamation might be set aside by the Supreme Court and declared that Lincoln must know that that might be the result. At this period the idea of a Constitutional Amendment began to germinate in the minds of the Abolitionists.

At the session in January, 1864, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Phillips offered the following resolution :

“Resolved, That in our opinion, the Government, in its haste, *is ready to sacrifice* the interest and honor of the North to secure a sham peace, thereby risking the introduction into Congress of a strong Confederate minority to embarrass legislation, and leaving the freedmen and the Southern States under the control of the late slaveholders, embittered by their defeat in war, and entailing on the country intestine feuds for another dozen years ; and we listen in vain, either from the leaders of the Republican party or from its journals, for any such protest as would arrest national attention, or create a public opinion definite enough to avert the sacrifice.”

Mr. Garrison offered an amendment to this resolution as follows :

“Resolved, That, in our opinion, the Government in its haste *is in danger of sacrificing*,” etc.

Slight as may seem to the reader of today the difference in phraseology between the resolution and Mr. Garrison’s offered amendment, the difference in significance at that time was very great. The amendment was defeated and the original resolution adopted by a very small majority. Before the vote was taken, however, there was a great deal of stormy

debate, which of course concerned itself with the character and purposes of very prominent men, and gave opportunity for some recrimination among the debaters.

After one of the sessions of this meeting, Mrs. Chace got at Mr. Phillips, sat down before him and began a pleading remonstrance. She told him she was afraid that unkind feeling would arise, and she begged him not to let it. He listened for a moment in grave silence, but as her gentle urgency made more direct appeal to him, he smiled a consciousness of his own helpless amiability. "I?" he asked, "*I have hard feelings? Why, I can't have them. I am as soft as silk.*"

The discussions among the Abolitionists aroused the interest even of the younger adherents of the cause. One of these, then a girl of sixteen, wrote the following letter to her cousin, in which the conversation referred to above is further given.

L. B. C. TO LUCY F. LOVELL

"*Feb. 7, 1864.* I wonder if you have heard of Phillips' and Garrison's quarrel. There was something terrible in it. It was about a resolution which Phillips offered, condemning the government more than Garrison liked. I have seen Wendell Phillips when he was supported in everything by his great friend and teacher, when his hearers gave ready assent and applause; when I felt him to be as great a statesman as reformer, but I never saw him when I was so impressed by his moral grandeur. The audience did not applaud much while he spoke. Most of those on the platform were against him and so he seemed to stand entirely alone, uttering sentiments which I felt would be received with disfavor by the country at large.

"Garrison followed, rather more heated than he, and declared substantially that Phillips had misrepresented him, that he had spoken so long there was no time to answer. He spoke derogatorily of Frémont, and Mr. Phillips rose to de-

fend him, and called the criticism 'unfair.' Garrison said that there was no proof that Butler agreed with Phillips, as he had intimated he did, about the Amnesty Message. Mr. Phillips replied that Butler could not openly criticize the government he served.

"Well, wonderful to tell, Phillips' resolution passed as he wrote it. Wasn't I glad? I've been real glad I voted on his side since, for he asked me the next morning how I did, and I think he was pleased when I told him. Mother asked him how he felt. 'I feel sure I was right,' said he.

" 'Yes, but I mean how do you feel towards each other after such an affair?'

" 'Oh, we don't feel at all, forget all about it.'

" 'But when you've called each other unfair, and all that.'

"It really seemed as if this was a view of the matter that had never struck him.

" 'Why, yes, I know—but then we don't really mean it, it's only Pickwickian.'

"Mr. Phillips was very kind to me; copied me some verses and gave them to me, without my asking for anything of the kind, and generally behaved himself in an agreeable manner."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, April 30, 1864.* There has come to our household, without note or letter, a box containing a basket of Mayflowers such as 'Solomon in all his glory' never looked upon—exquisitely arranged, full of fragrance, and worthy to take the highest prize at a floral exhibition. It is evidently from Valley Falls, and from your own sweet home, a token of your friendship and love; for which accept our warmest thanks. We shall preserve it as long as possible, and take great delight in showing it to all comers. Dear wife is greatly pleased with it, as all invalids seem to be at the sight of flowers. Yesterday, for the first time, she rode out as far

as Brookline, and round through Roxbury, feeling no special fatigue, and enjoying the excursion, even with tears in her eyes.

“Hoping it is all well with you at home, and desiring to be kindly remembered to your dear and venerable mother, and to your good husband and promising children, I remain your much obliged friend.”

At the New England Convention of May, 1864, the addresses of the speakers mostly turned on President Lincoln's reëlection and Mr. Phillips' opposition to it.

George Thompson had recently arrived from England; he challenged Mr. Phillips to account for his present attitude towards Lincoln and objected seriously when Mr. Phillips intimated that he knew his own country better than Mr. Thompson did.

While this convention was in session, Mr. Phillips sent a letter to the Cleveland Convention, which nominated Frémont to the presidency, in which he said:

“The administration . . . I regard as a civil and military failure. . . . I think the Convention should incorporate in its platform the demand for an amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery everywhere within the Republic, and forbidding the States to make any distinction among their citizens on account of color or race. I think it should demand a reconstruction of states as speedily as possible, on the basis of every loyal man, white or black, sharing the land and the ballot.”

Mr. Garrison's attitude on some of these questions can be inferred from his letter to Professor Newman which appeared in the *Liberator* of July 22, 1864. In this he said: “Universal suffrage will be hard to win and to hold without a general

preparation of feeling and sentiment. But it will come both at the South and with you. Yet only by a struggle on the *part of the disfranchised*, and a growing conviction of its justice, 'in the good time coming.' "

In this letter he also said: "When was it ever known that liberation from bondage was accompanied by a recognition of political equality? Chattels personal may be instantly translated from the auction-block into freemen; but when were they ever taken at the same time to the ballot-box, and invested with all political rights and immunities? According to the laws of development and progress, it is not practicable."

While Mr. Garrison still continued to criticize some of Mr. Lincoln's failures to assume a bolder Anti-Slavery attitude, he had undoubtedly by this time come to feel a strong sympathy and even personal admiration for the President. I have chosen the above paragraphs from his letter to Professor Newman, although of a later date than the May Convention, because perhaps they really represent him as well as anything that he said at the New England Convention, where a large part of his effort and that of Mr. Thompson was to prove that Mr. Phillips had not always held the opinions that he then held.

In 1864 Lillie passed seven months attending Miss Dodge's school at Codman Hill in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

L. B. C. TO MRS. CHACE

"*May 29, 1864.* F. F. gave me, unintentionally of course, a false impression of the effect of the meeting Friday evening on Abby and Med. When I spoke to F., whom I met at the riding school, of the beautiful way in which Thompson and Phillips met after the meeting, 'I don't like that,' said she, 'If they feel so towards each other, it seems as if they talked so in public only for *effect!*' Wasn't that stunning!

"When she [went away] from the meeting, the previous day she left Wendell Phillips standing on the platform to reply to Thompson, yet she seemed to take it for granted that he didn't, for said she, 'If Phillips doesn't answer Thompson's challenge, I never shall have any respect for him.' 'He did,' said I.

"She didn't seem to think he honestly held his opinions. Much that he said, she thought was to mislead. I told her Mr. Phillips was incapable of intentional deception; he might be wrong, but *that* was impossible.

"Miss Dodge said at breakfast this morning, that if they (the Abolition leaders) quarreled in public, she thought they would get to quarreling in private. 'Oh,' said I, 'there isn't the *slightest* danger of that.' She remarked that Mr. Phillips had opposed everybody so long, he thought it was necessary to strike out every once in a while,—and all that stuff. I said, 'I don't think that's his motive.' Oh no, she didn't suppose he was conscious of it.

"Abby and Med liked him very much. They didn't agree with him in everything he said about Lincoln, but both think Butler would make a better President than he.

"Mr. Garrison has a very good editorial in the *Liberator* this week, has he not?"

L. B. C. TO LUCY F. LOVELL

"*July 2nd, 1864.* When I first heard of Frémont's nomination, I was provoked because it wasn't Butler. But I straightway set to work to revive my love for him, and in a degree succeeded. Then came his letter of acceptance. I tried to like it. But close upon that came the statement that he sent the letter to a Democrat to be modified. Is it not strange that when I feel that I have no faith in Frémont, I [still] rejoice to hear that the procession in his honor at St. Louis was immense?"

"Surely America can expect nothing but suffering so long as she permits her soldiers to be slaughtered as at Fort Pillow. That is Lincoln's fault. I feel indignant when I think how he spoke of it at the Baltimore Fair, lulling almost the whole nation to sleep with fair words. 'Oh, we need not fear, there is no necessity for watching,' murmurs this besotted people. 'The President will see to it. Honest Abraham, you know!'

"The 'honest' President has done nothing to redeem his word. A stain rests upon our country's honor which the blood of every negro soldier does but deepen. For the sake of decency, let us call home our colored troops or protect them from wholesale butchery. If we must die, let it be honorably.

"Was it not humiliation enough after oppressing this race for centuries, and scornfully refusing their aid for two years, that we should be *obliged* at last to ask their aid? But this, this is infamy!

"I sometimes feel afraid that Wendell Phillips' distrust of Lincoln will lead him into a wrong course, but I feel, after all, a strong sympathy with him, when he said, 'I mean to have it to say, in coming years, that the man who left the nation in such a guise before the world in May, 1864, never had one word of citizen-support from me afterwards.'

"But when Lincoln is reëlected, as he probably will be, what will Wendell Phillips do then? How can he support the government? How can he refuse to?

"I have had a letter lately from Anna Dickinson. She entirely distrusts Lincoln, says she has faith neither in his ability nor his integrity. She sees in him, neither principle nor a wise policy. Of Mr. Garrison, she says, 'He is doing incalculable injury to the cause by his blind praise and endorsement of Lincoln, and every day he seems to drift further from his old moorings. Whatever I may have said of Mr. Phillips in the past, his attitude today is godlike.'

"But I am certain Mr. Garrison thinks he is right. I hope Mr. Phillips will not support Frémont, but I do not know. Anna E. D. is a little too vehement to judge Mr. G. correctly now. The Garrisons—Fanny, her mother and Mr. G. at least,—think Phillips' course as awful as Anna thinks G.'s. For my own part, I am thoroughly sorry, and have been a good deal unhappy of late.

"I have read Wendell Phillips' letter to the *Independent*. I think likely he is deceived in his trust in the Cleveland movement and Mr. Frémont, but the rest of his letter I like."

Mrs. Chace visited Niagara Falls for the first time in 1864. She made the trip in company with Mr. and Mrs. George Willetts and their daughter Margarita. The Willettses were Abolitionists of Pennsylvania origin. Their daughter, Georgiana, was then a nurse in the Union Army. After the battle of Fredericksburg she stood all night on the steps of an ambulance helping the surgeons.

L. B. C. TO LUCY F. LOVELL

"*Goat Island, Niagara Falls, Aug. 11, 1864.* Tuesday morning, I first looked upon a country, which was not my own. We had quite a discussion whether we should feel love and reverence for the land over which once brooded the North Star of freedom, or hatred and aversion for the refuge of Vollandigham and his fellows.

"Yesterday we rode over the Suspension bridge and entered 'foreign parts,' and passed the Clifton House. The arch traitor is not there now, I believe. Returning, Mr. Willetts proposed we should give groans to the Clifton House, but I contented my indignation by slightly hissing that 'nest of traitors.'"

The Willettses were relatives of the well-known Quaker Abolitionists Isaac and Amy Post, celebrated in Whittier's

poetry. The Posts had been hitherto known only by reputation to Mrs. Chace, but on the way back from Niagara, the whole party stopped to visit them in Rochester. Then Mrs. Chace decided that, since the mountain would not come to her, she must be the Mahomet who would go to the mountain. We all drove, three or four miles, to the dusky Douglass' suburban residence. Mrs. Chace sat silent nearly all the way.

"Douglass is a moody man," said Isaac Post. "We cannot be sure how we shall find him."

Mrs. Chace assented. She was very grave, and the others seemed so to my excited imagination. The carriage reached the house, which was pleasantly situated in a large garden. To whoever answered the doorbell was said, "Tell Mr. Douglass that Isaac Post with other friends would like to see him."

The party entered a spacious parlor and seating themselves maintained the silence of a Quaker meeting.

Mr. Douglass came in and spoke first and graciously to the Posts, perhaps also to the Willettses; then he came in front of Mrs. Chace. I believe her presence took him by surprise. She rose; I have seen many human Titans meet each other; I never saw a more indescribable moment of salutation than was that in which she and he faced across the chasm of his long alienation. She stood and spoke, supreme in womanly sweetness and shy dignity. He surpassed humanity, towering before her like a demigod. So it was for an instant, though in that instant he, outwardly, merely bowed, and with the magnificent movement of haughty courtesy, gave her his hand, saying simply, "How do you do, Mrs. Chace."

He retreated two or three steps to a chair, but as he retreated, his whole demeanor changed. Though he seemed to talk to the entire company, he thenceforth spoke only to her. She answered; the rest were mute, as in the presence of two monarchs who were holding high converse.

"There are no friends like the old ones to me," said the great Fugitive, "the friends who knew me when I first *ran*."

"Frederick," she asked finally, "Can I not see thy wife? I have never seen her."

"Have you never seen my wife?" he exclaimed. "Certainly you must see her."

He made inquiry for Mrs. Douglass and reported that she was in the garden. He and Mrs. Chace went together in search of her. I sat near an open window, and as they passed by it on the outer path, I heard a fragment of speech, which I venture to repeat without other comment than to say that I never heard a woman utter the word of friendship in a finer manner.

"Frederick," she said, "Why have I seen nothing of thee in all these years?"

He answered in a tone like low thunder, "You sided with Garrison."

"Yes," she replied, "I thought he was right about that, but it didn't make any difference to my feeling for thee. I loved thee, Frederick, just the same."

I heard no more, but I never again saw a trace of haughtiness in Douglass's bearing to Mrs. Chace,—only tender reverence.

His wife entered the parlor in their absence, they having missed her. They returned, and he met his wife with exquisite grace. I observed in him a similar noble courtesy, many years later, when he presented Mrs. Douglass to Captain Wyman and myself in his Washington home.

Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, made the following memorandum:

"*Washington, D. C., March 29, 1883.* He [Mr. Lincoln] seldom read the newspapers during the war, but gathered his

information of the popular feeling from private letters and talks. He was always grateful for disinterested and earnest letters.

"His playing with 'peace negotiations,' in 1864, was a repetition of that profound and secretive policy which marked his course with regard to Fort Sumter in 1861. Many of the leaders, even those close to him, thought him to be a 'simple-minded man.' He was the deepest, the closest, the cutest, and the most ambitious man American politics has produced."

(The Life of John Murray Forbes, pages 104-105, Vol. II.)

On September 5th, 1864, Mr. Sedgwick wrote to Mr. Forbes: "No man ever was elected to an important office who will get so many unwilling and indifferent votes as L. The cause takes the man along."

L. B. C. TO LUCY F. LOVELL

"*Valley Falls, Sept. 26th, 1864.* We saw George Thompson in the Anti-Slavery Office. The illustrious Englishman knew me, thereby raising my height at least three inches. While we listened to him, the door opened and his personal friend and political opponent came in. Mother had told me she wanted dreadfully to see him, and now she went eagerly to meet him as he came up the room. I told her afterwards, I guessed that Wendell Phillips thought she was glad to see him. She introduced him to our companions [Georgiana and Margarita Willetts] and as she pronounced his name, he added, 'the heretic.'

"Mr. Walcott told us, in the morning, that he had not spoken a word about politics there for two months. But in reply to mother's questions he told her what he thought and what he meant to do. 'I mean to do what I have always done; demand absolute right before nationality. It's the old cry—

disunion, you know. I think my friends here and of the *Standard* are giving up our normal principle. Mr. Seward says there are those who prefer unconditional emancipation to Union. I am just one of them.'

"He greeted me, in such fashion as he always does, with 'Are you converted to Lincoln?' and when I answered, 'No,' 'Why,' said he, 'you must be obstinate! I,' he said, 'would sooner cut off my right hand than vote for Lincoln.' He stayed but a few minutes, and as soon as he was gone, Mr. Walcott turned to mother with an eager 'What did he say?'"

Mrs. Chace's choice between the leadership of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison was a remarkable character phenomenon, because her regard for both men was so strong; nevertheless it was a choice in accord with her whole anti-slavery method. She had always thought it a duty to work incessantly and to demand immediate action; and she had always esteemed the negro's social and political rights as well as his personal liberty a part of the main object for the attainment of which the Anti-Slavery effort had been organized. When the Reconstruction Period came, she saw Mr. Phillips' course as inspired by a continued sense of responsibility. Correctly or incorrectly, she considered the Abolitionist group to be a body of moral experts, whose absolute duty it was to work through that Reconstruction era in direct, frequent and special conference with each other.

Report prevailed at the time, among the Abolitionists, that Mr. Garrison had said, privately, that he should not object to the readmission of Louisiana to the Union with the word "white" in its State Constitution. It cannot be doubted that there was much private discussion, much understanding as well as some misunderstanding of mutual attitude and trend of opinion, concerning which the published and public utterances of the period give only slight suggestion, and all of

which made the two opposing leaders and their respective followers realize that they were working, not merely according to different methods, but towards different ends. It seems to me, that in it all, the leaven of non-resistance and of his old faith in the no-government Perfectionism was still leavening the whole yeast of Mr. Garrison's opinion. But Mrs. Chace, although a peace woman from this time onward, and for various purposes, more and more steadily and intelligently directed the energy of her life into governmental channels of effort.

On pages 153 and 154 of Vol. IV of the Life of Garrison occur these passages, of which we give a condensed extract:

"The debates at the January meetings of the Massachusetts Society in Boston had turned almost wholly upon the question of reconstruction and negro suffrage; Mr. Phillips vigorously opposing the readmission of any of the seceded States with the word white in their constitutions, and declaring that 'no emancipation can be effectual unless the negro has the ballot and the States are prohibited from enacting laws making any distinction among their citizens on account of race or color.' Mr. Garrison urged that those Northern States, which denied suffrage to the blacks within their own borders, could not, with any consistency, make a similar denial on the part of the Southern States a sufficient reason for refusing them readmission to the Union, and he therefore proposed the following resolutions as supplementary to the series introduced by Mr. Phillips:

" 'Resolved, that if, as reconstructed, Louisiana ought not to be admitted to the Union because she excludes her colored population from the polls, then Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and all the Western States ought not to be in the Union for the same reason; and while they are guilty of this proscription, it is not for them to demand of Louisiana

a broader scope of republican liberality than they are willing to take in their own case.

“Whereas, ever since the organization of the National Government till now, every State in the Union has claimed and exercised the right to determine on what conditions any of its inhabitants shall wield the ballot—the General Government taking no cognizance of the special inclusion or exclusion pertaining to its electoral law; and whereas, it is not to be presumed that any State will consent to have this established prerogative wrested from it, and a wholly different rule forcibly prescribed, either on the plea of military occupancy or by act of Congress, without an amendment of the National Constitution; and whereas, by the conflicting laws or constitutions of the several States in the matter of voting, colored citizens who are electors in one State are disfranchised in another, and thus this usage is attended with invidious and oppressive features, and ought not longer to prevail among a people claiming to be one in nationality of spirit, purpose, and destiny; and whereas, with a wise regard to the future peace and welfare of the republic, and especially the allegiance of the Southern section of it, no one class should be left to ostracize another, under the plea of State sovereignty; therefore,

“Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in submitting to the people an amendment of the Constitution, making the electoral laws uniform to all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions.”

“Both of these resolutions, with a third providing for the dissolution of the Society on the final adoption and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, were laid on the table at the final session, while those proposed by Mr. Phillips (which also suggested a Constitutional amendment forbidding all discriminations against color) were adopted.”

There was a very great difference between a Resolution which called for the immediate granting of Negro Suffrage in the lately rebellious States, and one which even implied that a loyal Northern State, which had never allowed universal suffrage, must permit it, before Congressional commands could be issued to conquered secessionists.

The legal question was whether the conquered Southern populations were still organized States, or were masses of persons, who, having by rebellion destroyed their State entity, had become practically aliens residing on land within Federal jurisdiction, but not yet placed firmly under even Territorial government. These peoples were beginning to ask admission as States to the Union. Mr. Garrison's Resolutions imply that he considered their claim to be admitted on their own terms as valid as the claim, in previous years, of already sovereign States, or of peoples who had regularly passed through the Territorial initiation, and had never rebelled. Legally, his theory was not wholly unlike that promulgated by Henry A. Wise as soon as he sheathed his rebellious sword.

Congress had always been the judge of the fitness of a population group to become a Federal State, but it had never made universal loyal suffrage a condition. Mr. Garrison seemed to consider precedent, in this respect, as final. Mr. Phillips did not so consider it. Neither did Mr. Sumner. The latter went so far in opposition to Mr. Garrison's theory, that he even opposed the admission of "new States which had not taken part in the rebellion" and yet made "discrimination on account of race or color." There can be no doubt that Sumner and Phillips, in these years, were working in full knowledge of each other's opinions.

Edward L. Pierce says of Lincoln's Reconstruction purposes, in Vol. IV of his Memoir of Sumner, page 227:

"If the President's plan had prevailed for Louisiana and the other rebel States, it would have resulted in the permanent

exclusion of the colored people from the suffrage in all the old slave States. It was clear to Sumner then that equal suffrage, without distinction of color or race, was to be established with reconstruction or not at all; and subsequent events—the stern contest with Johnson and all that has followed—have demonstrated his foresight.”

Sumner agreed with Mr. Phillips that the Anti-Slavery Societies ought not to dissolve in 1865.

On page 116 of Vol. IV of his Memoir of Sumner, Pierce says, “Congress had little heart in the President’s favorite idea of compensating slave owners,” and adds in a note, “Mr. Lincoln adhered to the last to his plan of compensated emancipation, and revived it at a Cabinet meeting, Feb. 5, 1865, in which it found no favorable response. (Nicolay and Hay, Vol. X, pages 133–137.)”

DR. DIO LEWIS TO MRS. CHACE

“*April 23rd, 1865.* I have been hoping to hear that your temperance efforts on the new plan were successful. I think the fresh moral courage which the consciousness of a triumph in the death struggle with slavery on this continent has given, will greatly enhance the effectiveness of our conflicts with other forms of evil.

“If Mr. Chace’s firm lost a thousand dollars a day before, what must it have been since, and while I regret that a friend should meet so large a loss, I must, of course, in the spirit of a patriot, rejoice that the country is returning to its original conditions.

“Overwhelmed I have no doubt you were with the news of that horrible murder, but, so far as slavery is concerned, we anti-slavery people can stand the assassination if the people of the South can. We have far less occasion to mourn than they. Major George L. Stearns told me yesterday that, in

his opinion, after having been intimately associated with Andrew Johnson for many months in daily and hourly intercourse, President Johnson is the greatest man on this continent; that he knows the rebellion and the rebels like a book, and has will enough to deal with them. If this should all prove true then the infamous murder will prove a national blessing in disguise."

The events in the spring of 1865 aroused both hopes and fears, neither of which were realized. For a few weeks, Wade, Sumner, Phillips, and many others believed that Johnson had pledged himself to act with the Radicals, and that he would fulfill his pledge.

These passages occur in the *Life of Garrison*, Vol. IV, pages 157-58-59, and on page 161:

"The question whether the American Anti-Slavery Society should dissolve or continue its operations caused an unusually large attendance at the annual meeting in May, in New York, not only of the old and long tried members, but of others, hitherto seldom seen at these meetings, whose attitude towards the Society had suddenly changed from indifference or hostility to a professed conviction that its dissolution would now be an alarming peril to the freedom and enfranchisement of the blacks."

Mr. Garrison at once introduced the subject in resolutions congratulating the society on the completion of its work and proposing its immediate dissolution. When the final vote on the question was taken, Mr. Garrison's resolutions were rejected by a vote of 118 to 48, and the continuance of the society was assured. As Mr. Garrison then refused a re-nomination to the presidency of the organization, Mr. Phillips was elected in his place.

Mrs. Chace was present at these New York meetings, but I have been unable to find much reference to them among her papers.

In May, 1865, the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery everywhere in the United States had not passed through all the necessary processes, and had not become a positive law. There was some question still unsettled as to the number of States whose ratification was needed to make it law, and slavery as an actual system still prevailed in various portions of the South, and was not forbidden in Delaware.

So far as has been discovered, Mrs. Chace had up to this time held no prominent office in the American Anti-Slavery Society, but at this May meeting of 1865 she was made Vice-President for Rhode Island and held that office continuously until the dissolution of the society in the spring of 1870. She was Vice-President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1867. She was one of the managers of the Thirty-Second National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, and she continued to act in that capacity throughout the reconstruction years up to 1870.



SAMUEL MAY

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH

FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE; INTEREST IN FREEDMEN; CONTINUED LABOR WITH AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; LETTER FROM SAMUEL MAY, JR.; LOCAL WORK; LETTERS FROM LUCY STONE; ILLNESS AND DEATH OF SAMUEL OLIVER CHACE; LETTERS FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, WENDELL PHILLIPS AND OTHERS

MRS. CHACE'S sons Sam and Arnold went in the summer of 1865 on a sailing vessel to Labrador, in company with William Bradford, the Quaker painter of Arctic scenery.

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD B. CHACE

"I hope you will both improve the first opportunity to send letters to the *Press*; or why would it not be well for Sammie to write for the *Fall River News*? Be sure and write carefully."

MRS. CHACE TO SAMUEL OLIVER CHACE

"*Valley Falls, 9th mo., 1st, 1865.* Oh! yes, thee did write, and it's too bad I blamed thee for not writing. We are so happy to have got the letters. To be sure we have to think they were written six weeks ago; but then before we got them we almost came to think there were no such boys as you, and now these letters seem to bring you to life again. How glad and happy we are! and when you come safe home won't we be happy! and won't you love your home better than ever! I guess we'll invite in the neighbors and have a general rejoicing.

"Mary and I went to Worcester a few days ago and spent

a night at Stephen Foster's. The friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society are going to try to hold a meeting in Boston before the opening of Congress to express to the Nation a strong word in behalf of negro suffrage. This is the great question now. And President Johnson goes against it. A large meeting of Boston merchants has been held at Faneuil Hall and has issued a very able address to the President in behalf of negro suffrage as a wise measure and as the only safe course."

MRS. CHACE TO ARNOLD B. CHACE

"9th mo., 1st, 1865. Your going was so noticed in the papers in consequence of your going with Mr. Bradford that it invests you with a notoriety and responsibility which of yourselves you would not have had. So you must do something for the public in compensation.

"Oh! Arnold do come home to do all in thy power to save people from drunkenness."

Joshua B. Smith, a colored man of Boston, a close friend of Charles Sumner, was undoubtedly the "J. B. Smith" of the correspondence given below.

ALBERT K. SMILEY TO J. B. SMITH

"*Providence, R. I., 9th mo., 5th, 1865.* As there has been no instance of colored persons attending the School, before answering thy letter, I consulted the committee in charge of the Institution and found their opinion to be that the time had not yet come when it would be best to take such a step. So far as the officers of the School are concerned they, without exception, would personally be in favor of such a course. We all entertain the kindest feelings toward the colored race, and the opinion that all distinction founded on differences of color will soon be removed."

Mr. Smith sent Mr. Smiley's letter to Mrs. Chace, and also informed her that he had made a similar application to Dr. Dio Lewis for the admission of his daughter to the latter's school in Lexington, Massachusetts, which her own daughters then attended.

MRS. CHACE TO DR. SAMUEL TOBEY

"*9th mo., 15th, 1865.* My very heart aches that the Friends will persist in being so nearly the last in every step towards doing justice to the race whom we have so deeply injured.

"Here was an opportunity offered to the School Committee, through one of the most intelligent of that long suffering yet noble race, to do justice to the colored man. They put away from them the opportunity which they should have hailed with joy, because, forsooth, 'the time has not yet come to take such a step.' As though the time hasn't always come to do right.

"I love Quakerism. It has been to me and is now the true religion. But I find it only where, minding the light within, people are led to deal equal justice to all men whether the world is ready or unready.

"And so between those who have refused to these representatives of a deeply injured class, the instruction it was in their power to bestow and my friend Dr. Lewis who, at whatever cost, so nobly extends to them the helping hand, I must decide that Dr. Lewis is the true Quaker.

"Hoping that no word of thine was left unsaid, to induce a different course to be taken by that Committee, I am as ever truly thy friend."

Mrs. Chace sent to Dr. Tobey copies of the letters she had received on the subject. He bestirred himself in the matter, as witness the following letters, written on the same day.

DR. SAMUEL TOBEY TO MRS. CHACE

"Providence, 9 mo., 18th, 1865. Thy favor of the 15th is at hand. I am glad to perceive by A. K. Smiley's letter that there is no objection on the part of the officers at the School to the admission of colored children. I suppose Albert consulted some individual member of the School Committee, who thought—as I confess I did not long since—that the time had not fully come for the admission of this class into the Boarding School. The Committee have not yet been together. Their regular meeting is on Third-day next week, the 26th inst., when this subject will be considered, and I shall be very much disappointed if colored children are not placed on the same ground as others who are not members of our Society.

"P.S. This is the first application, as far as I know, for the admission of colored children into our School and I hope we shall be favored to decide it right. From what Albert knew of the views of the Committee as they had been expressed to him, I think he was justified in writing as he did."

ALBERT K. SMILEY TO J. B. SMITH

"Providence, R. I., 9th mo., 18th, 1865. Some remarks that I have heard lead me to think, that a portion of the Committee in charge of this School do not approve of the course recommended by the other portion, which recommendation I followed in writing to thee. If thou still wishes to send thy children here, and will renew thy application, I will present the subject to the General Committee at their meeting on the 26th inst."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., TO MRS. CHACE

"Leicester, Sat., Sept. 20th, 1865. Your note of Sept. 1st is just at hand. Nothing could be more pleasant to me at any

time than a note from yourself, whose long devotion and efficient service to the Anti-Slavery cause, and to all other works of mercy and humanity, I cannot allow myself to undervalue. Even should *you* write to *reprove* me for duty neglected or forgotten, I could but welcome it, for I should feel *sure* that no narrow spirit or partial judgment prompted you. But I do not understand that you write in any reproving spirit. The impression your letter makes on me is, that you do me an honor, and bear in my behalf a testimony, far above my desert. If I could speak of *compliment* in so serious a matter as your note presents, I should say that I feel myself highly complimented. I do not know in whose behalf you write; but you speak of having been 'in conference with some of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.' With some of the members of that Committee, I can probably never work again in the Anti-Slavery Cause. So unjust have they been to the National Administration for two years past, so ready to put distrust and difficulty in the way of those on whose shoulders the most terrible responsibility was rolled, and so determined to allow no value to the Anti-Slavery services rendered by them, so deficient have they been in their judgment of that which would help and that which would hinder the Anti-Slavery cause, so fanatical have they been in their opposition to Mr. Garrison, to the '*Liberator*,' to the '*Standard*' *as it was* and so cruelly slanderous their charges upon Mr. Garrison and the '*Liberator*,' that my sense of duty to the enslaved and my judgment of my own responsibilities unite in forbidding me to identify myself in any way with their present attitude and course. My confidence in their judgment, and in the value of their Anti-Slavery Services, is pretty much gone. With others of the Committee (nearly strangers to me and I am sure strangers to many who voted at New York to put them on that Committee,) I feel no special call or desire to coöperate. I see them zealously

working, and have no disposition to put a straw in their way; but with much that they undertake I feel no sympathy. Yet with others of the Committee I could work as readily as ever.

“Had you asked my coöperation with yourself, and others known to be of like purpose, in any particular measure for the advancement of Anti-Slavery principles and ends, I should have been wholly disposed to agree to anything you might propose. But as I *do not know* who they are, for whom you especially speak, and as I *do know* that with some of that Committee I could not usefully or satisfactorily coöperate in Anti-Slavery labors, the way for an affirmative answer to your kind, earnest appeal seems to me entirely barred. Men who say that ‘the Administration of Abraham Lincoln was the most infamous our country ever had,’ that ‘we could hire any Irishman for two dollars a day to do for the country all that Abraham Lincoln ever did for it,’ that they ‘do not care a straw for the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution,’ men who, opposed to political action all their lives, go into the Cleveland Convention, and, with such associates as would have disgusted them once, try to make and unmake Presidents, and who accept from their candidate a shamefully compromising letter because it was ‘well calculated to get Democratic votes,’ and who avowed their design to unite with the Chicago Convention, if they could, to overthrow Mr. Lincoln’s Administration,—however sincere they may be, are not men whom I can respect and act with.

“Therefore, with regard to holding an Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, I should have to ask, ‘Is it to aid the Anti-Slavery Society, and the *Standard*, as now conducted?’ If it be for them, I could take no part in it. I cannot forget last winter’s Subscription Anniversary. I know who worked for that Anniversary, and I know what objects were designed to be promoted by the funds then raised. I know that W. Phillips, and G. L. Stearns, and R. P. Hallowell, and the

Fosters, and P. Pillsbury, etc., men who now represent the American Anti-Slavery Society, *would not* work for it, gave not a dollar to it; and yet, in the May following being placed on the Executive Committee (in considerable part by persons who had never been, and were not in any proper sense, members of the Society), these very individuals took possession of Two Thousand dollars of the money which others had raised, and have been using it, contrary to the purpose for which it was contributed, to charge President Johnson with 'Tylering up,' to propose that he shall be 'impeached,' to denounce and obstruct the Bureau of Freedmen and General Howard its chief, and, in general, to fill the minds of Abolitionists with gloom, doubt and discouragement. I shall not, I think, engage in raising more money to put in their hands. I feel that money going now in that direction is quite as likely to do harm to the Anti-Slavery cause as good. And as many ways open before me, for benefiting the emancipated, for rescuing those still in slavery, and for securing them all their rights,—ways and channels wherein I am confident of accomplishing more good than I could by identifying myself with a course which my judgment disapproves,—I feel that I ought not to hesitate as to the answer I should give you, and I do not. I am convinced that the American Anti-Slavery Society, as now constituted, will not do, and cannot do, much to aid that work [the work for the negro which Mr. May thought it was still necessary to do]. Could its old members have *remained together*, with single eye working for the one grand moral aim which had so long been before them, I believe they would have still been a *power* in the land. That was my own view of duty. I counseled and worked to that end. I could not blame Mr. Garrison for withdrawing himself from those whose views and actions were so at variance with his own, and especially from those who seemed bent on assaulting and disparaging his motives and his labors. Disappointed

in my hopes and wishes, seeing the Society and its organ falling into hands which had been, some enemies others strangers, to it heretofore, I declined the request that I would allow my own name to be reported as one of its Executive Committee for the current year, and have never regretted my decision.

“I wish, dear Mrs. Chace, now as for nearly thirty years past, to help the good old Anti-Slavery Cause. I make no professions about it; but I should have to be changed into a different being, to lose my predominating regard for it. ‘It has my *past*—if not my *better* years,’—and I am glad of it. They could not have been so worthily given to any other end I know of. My belief is that what remains of my life, so far as needed and wherever likely to be useful, will be given to the same object. It is no flattery or idle compliment which leads me to add, that I shall feel myself happy and honored, now or hereafter, to work with you and with the great body of those with whom I have in past years worked, in aiding and furthering the cause in any and all ways which my conscience and judgment approve.

“Do you see *The Nation*? I hope so. If not, let me beg that you will get hold of its numbers, select from its great variety those [articles] which bear upon Slavery, the true policy towards the South, the freed people and their rights, reconstruction, and the like, and judge for yourself. It is attacked and disparaged both by some *old* and some *new* Anti-Slavery people. And indeed I cannot say that every line and word of it has been faultless. But it is an admirable paper, an honor to our Country and the cause of Truth.”

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society of the preceding year (1864) was thus composed:

“William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston, Sydney Howard Gay, Samuel

May, Jr., William I. Bowditch, Charles K. Whipple, Henry C. Wright, Edmund Jackson, John T. Sargent."

The members of the Executive Committee referred to in Mr. May's letter, as copied from the *Liberator*, June 2d, 1865, were:

"Wendell Phillips, Bourne Spooner, John T. Sargent, Richard P. Hallowell, Sarah J. Nowell, Caroline R. Putnam, George L. Stearns, Abby K. Foster, E. D. Hudson, Edward M. Davis, Robert Purvis, C. L. Reasom (?)."

I do not know how Mrs. Chace felt when she read Mr. May's letter, but I do know that she continued her active membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society, that she helped to support its organ, the *Standard*, and never subscribed for the *New York Nation*, a paper which the Radicals of the time deemed untrue to the best interests of the negro and to the highest national purposes.

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*Valley Falls, 10th mo., 2nd, 1865.* Father and I bought table, chairs and lamps for the Reading room. Our committee of women are going to meet here tonight, and then proceed to the Reading room, and open it at seven o'clock."

In this same general period, Mrs. Chace began to work with other Valley Falls residents to provide evening schools for persons, especially mill workers, who could not attend the public day schools. The towns furnished no provision then for such instruction, but the use of the schoolrooms was obtained, the teachers being volunteers. After a while funds were privately raised and a teacher was hired. This phase of effort continued for several years and then lapsed.

Mrs. Chace, meanwhile, gave the use of the Homestead sewing room for a weekly sewing class of girls, made up mostly of young operatives. It was taught by a volunteer teacher who also furnished a small library for these girls, and the

class numbered from ten to twenty pupils. Intimate acquaintance with their family conditions was obtained through this sewing school, which had an intermittent existence for nearly a dozen years.

The reading room referred to in the letter to Mary Chace failed to attract the working people, probably because Mrs. Chace insisted on providing periodicals of a character that was too intellectual. A similar, and later, effort of hers failed also, because it did not offer sufficient entertainment of a popular kind.

Samuel Longfellow described to her the Amusement Room for Boys, which had then recently been opened in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She took eagerly to the idea, and at once began to utilize the Public Hall, which she now controlled, for such purpose. She enlisted volunteer helpers, and for a while went herself, to the Hall, on Saturday evenings, to entertain the boys who came. This effort was successful, and was continued for several seasons. Mrs. Chace led in the necessary giving of funds.

Fanny Garrison was preparing for her marriage to Henry Villard, and Lillie wrote to Mrs. Chace that she was planning to go from Lexington, where she was at school, to Roxbury to stay over a Saturday night with Fanny, and then, on Sunday, to attend church in Milton, and she added that the Rev. Mr. Mumford had invited her to come to his house to dine after church. The whole arrangement seemed to the girl very like one that would enable her to pass twenty-four hours in Paradise and learn some lessons in Beatitude.

MRS. CHACE TO L. B. C.

"*Valley Falls, 10, 17, '65.* About thy going to Roxbury and Milton. Thee says thee thinks of spending next Sunday at Roxbury; then thee speaks of thy letter from Mr. Mumford, and says thee thinks thee shall accept his invitation

which is for the same day. It makes me very uneasy. I cannot have thee going from one town to another alone, with nobody to know whether thee gets there or not and back again. So let me say if thee wants to go to Roxbury next Seventh-day, either go with Mr. Weld, and be left by daylight near Mr. Garrison's; or else go to Boston with Eddie and let him put thee, in the daytime, on the cars which will take thee to Roxbury, and then stay there till thee comes back [to Lexington], or else if thee goes to Milton get Fanny or somebody to go with thee or take Eddie with thee."

The fond yet inconsiderate pressure produced its usual result of irritation in the daughter, who retorted.

L. B. C. TO MRS. CHACE

"I am not going to Roxbury tomorrow. Should never think of taking Ned there with me, certainly would not take Fanny to Mr. Mumford's, when I have never been there myself. If I were a child, or if I had never been to Milton, it might be reasonable for thee to be uneasy. But when it is all so familiar, it is unreasonable."

JOSEPHINE GRIFFING TO MRS. CHACE

"*Washington, Dec. 26th, 1865.* You will see how our cause has been made to suffer from the Pro-Slavery spirit, which has power in the Freedmen's Bureau, and this is not strange when we see that the men who fill too many of these offices were six years ago wedded to the Institution of Slavery and their hearts are full of bitter recollections of Abolitionists.

"I have been relieved from duty for too much interest in the Freed-people. The action of the Bureau is [meant], first, to establish a policy of repudiation of the right to life

or their bread, during the transition state,—of the infirm, old and most destitute; a policy which I learn from good authority is being carried out throughout the Freedmen's territory to greater or less extent.

"I do not mean to say there is a *direct conspiracy* and *intent to kill* off these Blacks, but I do assert that in this city thousands have died who only needed the aid that could have been secured if the President and the Freedmen's Bureau had been disposed to acknowledge the just claims of these emancipated people.

"One of the first things General Howard said in assigning duties was, 'I don't want any sympathies excited' though 'I don't want any suffering overlooked here.'

"Yesterday Mr. Torrey, a humane man, was discharged, and a woman with a heart of stone put in his place. Her first work was to cut off twenty-four families from their 'pint of soup' and 'Loaf of Bread.'

"The Bureau with suitable officers and a *civil* department, added to the Military, that should give an ear to the just claims of a million illegitimate wives and two million of children with neither Fathers or Mothers is needed. This is what I am laboring for in Congress. It is absurd to look for any effectual remedy from our Legislators, with the exception of our radical men, and the only hope for us and them [the negro women] is in the *vote* and moral sense of woman herself."

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*The National Anti-Slavery Standard Office, New York, 21st Jan., 1866.* I write to ask your coöperation in the distribution of some circulars in behalf of the *Standard*. If you will take fifty or more and send them into your state and circle of acquaintance, it will, I think, be a good deed like very many others you have done."

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*New York, Jan. 27, 1866.* I have lived in very small towns before, but never in one so small as New York.

"The comments on Mrs. Stanton's letter in the *Standard* were not mine. I had resigned my editorial post, and was in New Hampshire, where I fear it was my duty to remain. But they said the *Standard* must fail if I left it; and that would be a slaughter the blood of which I did not wish to be stained with, and so I came back, 'for better, for worse.'"

DANIEL BREED TO MRS. CHACE

"*Washington, D. C., 3rd mo., 8, 1866.* Thy favor is at hand with \$10.00 from little Mary for the freedmen's evening schools. The owner of the brickyard—no Abolitionist—says, 'the difference between the colored and the white refugees from Virginia is—the colored build their own houses, and I have to build houses for the whites.'

"The President's best friends here say he is sober. The true explanation is, he is pro-slavery, and like all of the race a tyrant at heart."

MRS. CHACE TO MRS. SAVIN

"Tell Oliver Johnson I am glad the American A[nti] S[lavery] Society is not dissolved. Now the President is the foe of the negro and denounces his friends, and now that no hall can be obtained for Garrison to speak in, in Washington, I think we shall need to hold at least one more meeting, and I hope the old friends will all be there. Slavery is hard to kill."

The Civil War had hardly ended when Mrs. Chace began to work in connection with the "Rhode Island Radical Peace Society." She got up little Peace meetings in Valley Falls,

and interested herself in Providence assemblies called together to protest against war. She wrote to Samuel Austin in April, 1866, asking that the use of the "Friends' Meeting House in Providence" should be granted to the Peace Society. He replied saying that "Friends cheerfully" acceded to her request.

She met occasionally and also corresponded with Alfred H. Love, coöperating with and stimulating his efforts to carry on a national Peace movement.

The subjoined letter was written in 1866, when the writer was staying at the Homestead and Mr. and Mrs. Chace were at the seashore, in New Hampshire.

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"Lillie and Sammy expect to start on Friday morning. Lillie laughed at your particular directions to her about finding her way in Boston, declaring she is 'twenty times as familiar with Boston as Mother is.' Mr. Arnold has secured the Methodist meeting house in Pawtucket for my lecture. Your dear mother looks bright and interested, specially inquired of me how the silver was cared for, and was content when I said 'Mrs. Chace locked it up in the china closet, and gave me the key.' Violet has had a letter from her brother in New Orleans, who advises her 'to stay up North; it's the best place for you.'

"Don't fail of having Mr. Chace improve every opportunity of resting, riding and sea bathing. I want him to return home a well man. Lillie had an interesting letter today from her uncle in Germany. Agreeable to directions I keep the front door locked all the time."

In November, probably, of 1866, Lucy Stone wrote to Mrs. Chace detailing a plan to start a *Woman's Rights Journal*, and asking her friend's aid. She concludes;

"What can you do? Think about it and let us know. Won't Marcus Spring and Thomas Davis be influenced by you to this work?"

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*12th mo., 4th, 1866.* Sammie is invited to deliver another Temperance lecture. Arnold is engaged to deliver his in Pawtucket."

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"Sammie, Eddie and I went to hear Ristori in Mary Stuart. Isn't it grand? Last night we had a beautiful lecture here, one of the Baptist course, from a clergyman on Woman and her Work. He omitted to mention her as a public speaker. So, afterwards, I told him I had enjoyed his lecture very much and asked him 'Why did you not mention Anna Dickinson, and speak of woman as a public speaker?' 'Well,' he said coloring, 'I did not happen to hit on that strain.' I said, 'Do put it in next time,' and left him.

"Our evening school is very flourishing. I am trying to get one started at Albion."

Mrs. Chace's letters to her daughters, while they were schoolgirls, are full of suggestions as to their enjoyment. Sentences in relation to visits and visitors constantly occur; such as:

"Will Clara Holmes come that day?" "I am glad thee asked Mr. Champney to stay over night. I meant to." "Edward and Jeanie Spring expect to come."

"If any of your friends cannot come by the two o'clock train, tell them to come later. We shall not have supper till half past seven. Frank Garrison will come, and Mr. Cheney."

"If you go to the Magills in Jamaica Plain, I hope you will go to see the Garrisons. It is only a mile distant."

"It will be nice for you to go to see the Welds."

Before the Christmas vacation of 1866.

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"I hope they [the teachers of the Lexington School] will let a couple of the girls come with you. Tell Lillie, the ones I should like best are C. Holmes and Emma Wooster. If they cannot stay the week, invite them to spend Christmas, and two others for New Years."

MRS. CHACE TO L. B. C.

"*1st mo., 4th (1867)*. I send the invitations for Emma Wood's party. Now, Lillie, thee may come home with Arnold and go to it. I suppose thee can do as thee likes about dressing. If thee masks what will thee wear? Thee could have thy spring gymnastic dress made and then be an Indian girl or a gypsy girl. It would be less exciting to just wear thy silk dress and go as simple Lillie Chace. Father and I are invited, and I suppose *I* shall go. We miss you dreadfully. I rather think, if thee comes to the party, it will be best not to take any trouble about a fancy dress, it would tire thee so. But if thee wants to, I will do anything about it I can. Thee might wear thy white dress and be a flower girl. Mary will not come, of course, being *a little* girl."

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jan. 10th, 1867*. I thank you very much both for what your letter promises and for the sympathy you express in the object.

"I hope you will start a petition. Just sign it yourself. It will excite as much public interest as though signed by more. Antoinette and I alone send a petition in this state. Charles Sumner must not have a chance to say again that we have not asked for it [the ballot]."

A letter a few days later gives, evidently in answer to request from Mrs. Chace, a form for a petition to any state legislature to amend the state constitution so as to give women the elective franchise.

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*1st mo., 11th, 1867.* Eddie went to Albion today and worked all day in the machine shop. He is tired tonight and thinks he shall advocate the eight hour system."

SALLIE HOLLEY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jan. 12, 1867.* I design to go on to Boston early Thursday. Please go with me. Now, that blessed Francis Jackson has gone, and the Garrisons [are] not interested in the Anti-Slavery Society, I must stop at some hotel during the Festival and Meeting time, and if you will bear me company I shall not mind it so much. But to stop alone at a great hotel is not agreeable."

This letter is very indicative of the diffidence felt by the very women who had been public speakers in the last twenty-five years. They felt shy about making journeys or going to hotels without a companion.

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"*New York City, Mar. 20, 1867.* In case I am not able to raise funds enough to start a paper, are you willing to give your \$50 for the general purpose of Woman Suffrage?

"The immediate reason of my asking is that we have just received a most urgent appeal from Kansas, to come out there and help them. You know the words 'white' and 'male' have been submitted to the people, in that State, and they will

vote on them in the fall. They say that both words can be banished if they can have help from the East. There is only a little left of the Jackson fund, which we will cheerfully apply, but more than this will be needed."

Alas for her! who was destined to see the promised land only from afar.

Mrs. Chace had long been a believer in Total Abstinence, as the duty of every person who wished to be a helper in progress towards Temperance and Morality of life. She began some active effort in Valley Falls, by engaging Dr. Dio Lewis in 1865-66 to deliver a Temperance lecture. He gave an account of an early effort of the kind which was later called The Woman's Crusade, and he impulsively organized a Crusade committee that evening.

Mrs. Chace prepared a report of the work of this committee, from which the following passage is quoted:

"We went forth, eighteen women, walking two and two. As we reached the first [rum] shop, we hesitated, and had a little discussion as to who should first enter the door, and who should read our appeal. When this was settled, we went in and, standing around the room, read our paper."

The paper was an appeal to the venders of intoxicants, and it seems to have been written by Mrs. Chace; who adds in her account:

"The Committee of Women have to say, that, having been engaged in the labor for which we were appointed, and having found that labor to be no child's play, we wish to submit two important facts that our experience has elicited. The first is, that in our visits to rumsellers, the claim that their traffic is sanctioned by State law, in the form of licenses granted by our Town Councils, does, in most cases, nearly paralyze the effect of our appeals to their consciences. Our second fact is that, on the first day of our labors we ascertained that the

majority of the grocers of this village had been led to keep cider to sell for domestic purposes; and that from doing so, they had been further induced to sell by the glass for drink. When we remonstrated with them, they replied to us, 'We never thought of selling cider, until we did it in compliance with the demand of almost every one of your own families, who want it to put into minee pies.' Then we hung our heads in shame, feeling that we had a work to do among ourselves before we went out again to rebuke our neighbors."

The work continued for several weeks, but the eighteen women engaged first pledged themselves to use no "intoxicating liquors either as a beverage, or, in the preparation of food."

After a time, visits to the rumsellers ceased, but instead the women went regularly to the meetings of the Town Councils and protested against the granting of licenses in the village, and they succeeded in preventing much license of that nature.

For a number of years, also, Mrs. Chace was actively interested in maintaining courses of Sunday Temperance meetings. In the winter these meetings were held in the Public Hall, and on summer afternoons in the hemlock grove on the Southern shore of the Blackstone River.

Mrs. Chace wrote in 1867 an Address from the women of Valley Falls to the Mayor and Aldermen of Providence, protesting against granting licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquor in that city. She claimed that their action affected the neighboring districts in a manner that made petition and address on the subject appropriate from the women in those neighboring places.

She wrote many reports of the Valley Falls Temperance meetings which were published in the *Providence Press*.

One day Alexander S. Arnold told Mrs. Chace that a Division of the Sons of Temperance could be organized in

Valley Falls if her son Sam would undertake to do it. She repeated Mr. Arnold's remark to the boy, who did undertake the work and became presiding officer in the Division. Many of its first members were untrained, boisterous young fellows; they would sit on the floor when called to the desk to deposit ballots. He did not contend with them, but changed the method of voting, so as to give them no chance for such antics. About the same time he taught a class in the Universalist Sunday School. It was mission work. There was no church of that denomination in the village and the Sunday School held its sessions, as did the Temperance Division, in the Public Hall. Sam had a class of innocently wild little youngsters, each about a dozen years old. Miss Mary E. Tillinghast described his patient, tactful manner. "He never gave up," she said; "when he could not hold their attention or keep them quiet one way, he tried another."

He was far handsomer than is indicated by any of his portraits, as his coloring was ideally beautiful, and also the expression in his eyes. He did not talk much, he seldom showed emotion, yet he seemed like the incarnation of delicate feeling.

He took no high rank in college, and seemed perfectly content to hurry home at night, and tell his mother what "a good recitation" Arnold had made that day. He was the most amiable of all Mrs. Chace's children whom I knew.

After his graduation, he entered his father's office at Albion. Early in 1867, he was exposed to a severe snowstorm. He became ill and then for six or seven weeks, day by day, hour by hour, he and his mother lived a duet of perfect harmony. He wrote, at this time, the following letter. Almost childish as it is, for a man twenty-three years old to write, not three weeks before his hand was to lie quiet forever, still it has the sweetness of the springtime for which he longed and was never to know again on earth.

SAMUEL OLIVER CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*2nd mo., 27th, 1867.* How pleasant have been your kind words of love and sympathy coming to me in every letter from you! I have meant to answer them all the time but I have not written any until within a few days, and even now do not like to write long at a time as I am particularly instructed to maintain the utmost quiet and to refrain from getting tired in any way. I am, I think, getting well now but as I have thought so two or three times before and then have been taken even sicker than before, I can hardly feel sure although the Dr. says he thinks I have begun to get better for good now and I am sure I hope so. Only think I have been sick more than five weeks. Did you know it is very hard for a sick person to write much except about themselves? At least I find it so. I hear so little and see so little and read almost not at all. Indeed the first part of the time I found myself getting very restless for the mere want of something to do but at last I went to hemming pocket handkerchiefs and finished my dozen yesterday, besides this I have also mended up all my old truck, gloves, etc. So the time has passed quite pleasantly. Lillie has got a side saddle and horse and she and Ed ride as much as they can this muddy weather. She is going, however, away to stay a week or two. By the time she comes home I hope I can ride with her but may not be able to so soon. We miss Arnold very much; at least I do for when he was at home I could send by him for anything anywhere and now as Ed is in College there is no one to go as I am a prisoner.

"It is a splendid day here everything bright and cheerful and springlike overhead and underfoot it is at least springlike. How I do long for budding trees, green grass, and singing birds, for violets and pretty mosses; they may come however as soon as I am able to go out and truly enjoy them, for

the only true place to enjoy nature is out among the works of nature in the grand old forest or by the rippling brook where everything you look upon but urges you on to a truer nobler life. This is the only church I reverence and in it I hear the only sermons that truly touch the heart.

“Arnold is out at Somerville, as I suppose you know, and before you get this I presume you will have seen him. What a good boy that brother of ours is and if he is well I think we will be proud of him yet. Since I have been sick I have not been able to do much but I guess you would laugh if you could but know the amount I have laid out to do as soon as I get able. I don’t feel sure that people live long enough to do so much but then it has helped to pass away the time; to make dull and tedious hours very pleasant for if there is pleasure in doing nice things there is also almost as much pleasure, if not as much, in planning for them and if something should come of some of these plans a double good would be accomplished. And this makes me think, we have got a pleasant home, very pleasant with every convenience but it wants little homelike things done almost everywhere which no one but ourselves can do—little things both inside and out; little touches on what we have got. With this it would be almost perfect. I have been thinking of these things on my sick bed and I hope to be able to carry out the idea in part at least. Won’t you come home next June and help us all to make this family the happiest in the land? But my paper is gone. So with much love I am your affectionate brother.”

He grew more ill in March. Friends flocked to assist the family. I remember especially how Ben. Bucklin nursed him at night, how George L. Clarke and William Francis Channing came to help care for and soothe his restlessness in the day. He died on March 20th.

"I want Mr. Garrison to come," said the mother, and so it was that Mr. Garrison came and brought George Thompson with him, and both spoke at the funeral.

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"*Valley Falls, April 2, 1867.* You ask if I will take Lillie out next summer. I am afraid not. Since dear Sam's death, things are so changed; such a terrible blank in the family circle! and I am afraid I cannot leave home but shall have to leave college and do my best towards taking Sam's place here at home with Father, who is getting very old and broken down and needs help very much. I do hate to leave college now that I have got so nicely started and am getting really interested in studying even French! I don't want to be a blockhead all my life. But then you see—you can't always have your own way."

Sam's death inevitably turned Mrs. Chace's thoughts back to Spiritualism, and during a number of weeks that spring she sought solace through its channels. This effort brought about a closer acquaintance than had formerly existed with George Thompson, who was then boarding with Father Taylor's daughter, Mrs. Brigham, in Roxbury. He came to stay a week at Mrs. Chace's.

GEORGE THOMPSON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Chestnut Lodge, Roxbury, Mass., April 7, 1867.* I had a sitting with Mrs. Rockwood on Wednesday, when my dear son came and spoke to me very beautifully. I long to hear if you have heard again from your own dear son, who gave you such comforting words when it was my privilege to be present."

GEORGE THOMPSON TO MRS. CHACE

"*April 11.* I will not fail to meet you at the Roxbury station on Tuesday morning next, and will endeavor to secure the company of the medium for the evening. I will also see Mrs. Rockwood and arrange for your having a sitting with her."

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*Home, 4 mo., 18, 1867.* We are having the croquet ground made. The flower garden is all renovated, the box reset and it looks very nice. If dear Sammie had been getting well now, how he would have enjoyed it! And I have no doubt he does enjoy it. And then he has better things, and a better home and everything just as he needs."

GEORGE THOMPSON TO MRS. CHACE

"*April 23.* I have just returned from Boston, bringing the answer given to your question, in the words which are on the cover under which I placed it. You will see it reads—'will come to you at home.' The interpretation which Mrs. Brigham and I put upon this response is, that your son will tell you all it is needful for you to know on the subject. I shall be anxious to hear from you what you may have to tell respecting your communion with Samuel since you were here."

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*5 mo., 14, 1867.* I went up to Albion yesterday, for the first time since Sammie left there. I found some papers where he began to write his Temperance lecture. It seems as though for the last year, he was thinking of something good all the time."

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO MRS. CHACE

"*June 10, '67.* I find that the note I wrote, acknowledging your kind letter and inclosure for our May anniversary in

N. York, was never mailed in that hurried week. You must have thought me very forgetful and heartless. Do forgive the mistake. Believe me I did appreciate your kind remembrance of us in the midst of your own great sorrow. I did sympathize with you most heartily in your great loss. My visits to your house have been so regular that I had long looked on it as an Anti-Slavery home, and grew every year more and more interested in your children. Others, who stayed with you, rendered me often an account of their welcome, as to one specially interested in all that concerned you. The sad news of your fine boy confounded me. Old as I am, I have never yet learned to remember that the young can die. I can feel a sort of comfort, something like submission, when the mature, whose work seems done, pass on, but find it hard to be reconciled when those just ripe,—the laborer just girt for his work vanishes from our side.

“As I used to ride away from your house I often thought of your sons, fancying them coming forward to fill the places some of us must soon leave,—and rejoicing in the stalwart arms which hard pressed and unpopular truths and causes would rest on. But God has other fields, and it is the peculiar comfort and joy of an interest in such causes as ours, that we continually realize how truly this field and that beyond the veil are only parts of one whole; death itself only a rising to another level, no change of occupations or interests.

“One thing consoles me as I grow old, it is that, year by year, the other shore grows more and more attractive to me; as many stand there to welcome me as linger here to regret my going; as many are there whom I long to see, as there are here for me to miss.

“But I know I can say nothing to comfort you under such a loss. I can only assure you how deeply and affectionately I feel for you. We have had so many joys and sorrows together and in common, that now all that touches one must

sadden or cheer the other. This great 'cause' makes the lives of all who love it one whole.

"Give my kindest regards to your husband,—to all your house, and try to let the burden and hurry of that busy week be some excuse for not mailing what I did not forget to write."

The undated letter given below was written about twenty years after the death of Samuel Oliver Chace.

ERASTUS RICHARDSON TO MRS. CHACE

"I am not unconscious of the risk that I run in writing to you so often. But something impels me to insert in this some words which I erased in my letter to you on your birthday. I erased them first, because I feared that you might not understand me, and second, because I did not wish to say anything that might bring a cloud over an occasion that ought to be so full of joy.

"All that I shall do in this, is to relate, in as matter of fact way as possible, an incident in my life. If you will read between the lines, you may see perhaps the reason for my too frequent intrusions upon you and yours.

"On a cold, stormy night, many years ago, I stood alone in the Providence railway station. I say that I was alone,—it was in that condition of solitude which is of all the saddest. I was in a multitude, but there were none who knew or cared for me.

"I was waiting for the departure of the train which was to carry me back to that place of horrors known as 'the front.' I had started against the importunities of my family, and the advice of my physician. But I had outstayed my furlough, and of all calamities that might befall me, I feared none so much as to be branded as a *deserter*.



SAMUEL OLIVER CHACE

“I am not brave. There is nothing in me of the soldier element. I did not enlist with the expectation or the desire of winning military fame. ‘Why then?’ Well, never mind.

“I had started for the front;—my sadness was inexpressible. In my selfishness and despondency, I felt myself to be an outcast. In short, I was in that peculiarly despicable mood,—I was pitying myself! I beheld with envy the parting embraces of friends, the tears and the kisses of lovers. ‘O,’ thought I, ‘there are no embraces, no tears, no kisses for me.’

“I stood with my foot upon the car-step. Just then I felt a touch upon my shoulder. My hand was grasped. I turned and met the gaze of the handsomest boy that I ever knew. I don’t remember what he said to me. But I beheld his glorious smile, and better than all, his moistened eyes.—It was Sammy.—I never saw him afterward.”

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH

LETTERS TO SAMUEL B. CHACE; THE REVIVAL OF THE
WOMAN'S RIGHTS ISSUE AFTER THE WAR; THE
RADICAL CLUB; GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

“*L*ONGWOOD [*Penn.*], 6th mo., 6th, 1867.
My dear good Husband, . . .

“The meeting-house is close by. It is a large house built by the Progressive Friends, twelve years ago, and dedicated by a sermon from Theodore Parker. They hold a regular meeting in it on First-days, and have a First-day school. They have an organ which they use in the school. The meeting is held after the Quaker fashion. I wish thee was here. I know thee would enjoy it exceedingly and it would do thee good. I am sorry I did not persuade thee more to come.

“These people are old Garrisonian Abolitionists, formerly Hicksite Friends, but now devoted to making the world around them better, having abjured sectarianism.

“I don't want thee to come unless thee feels like it. Thee has not indulged thyself much that way. But I have so wished thee was here.

“I have almost felt as though I ought not to have come away, and left thee. Don't get too tired.”

MRS. CHACE TO MR. CHACE

“*Philadelphia, 6th mo., 10th.* We came from Longwood this morning, where we have had a most delightful time. The meeting was just such a one as I wish we could have in New

England, taking up all the reforms and dealing with them. I exerted a little influence on the Temperance question and helped them to adopt a very thorough testimony on that subject. I was very glad to have Lillie and Eddie hear the discussion of these questions.

"I was in hopes thee would think it would do to come on to Eagleswood, but perhaps it is not best. I feel as though I shall want to stay at home pretty much the rest of my life. I know thee would have enjoyed being at Longwood with us. James and Lucretia Mott were there and she spoke beautifully."

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"*American Equal Rights Association, New York, June 14, 1867.* Two days ago I received your letter and the check for \$25.00, for which accept our thanks.

"Your letter gave me the first intelligence I had, of the loss you have suffered in the death of a son. Which one or how? I know not a single particular. Sometime when it is possible for you I wish you would write me the particulars. I remember very well the first time I ever saw your children, Sammy and Arnold, Lillie and Eddie, all came to shake hands and to reflect their Mother's good will. Even then all the elder ones—the oldest not older than my Alice,—were warm Abolitionists, and discussing the character of the Constitution. You have buried one child. If I bury one, there will be none left to me.

"But in the midst of this great grief, it will still be a joy to you to know what a radical work is being done in Kansas. They are surely giving the suffrage to women there. It will be the entering wedge to its being carried everywhere.

"After my return from Kansas, I called on Mr. Greeley, and told him how it was being carried in that State, and he said we might have a finger's length of the *Tribune* every day

for Woman Suffrage. Tilton says the *Independent* shall urge it more than ever, and the *Evening Post* will welcome anything we write for that paper. So everything is favoring us, and I do believe that before the Reconstruction is settled, women as well as negroes will vote.

"I went to Boston last week, and had a long talk with Phillips;—stopped at Newport and saw Mr. Higginson. I suggested to Mr. H. an appeal to the voters of both parties, to the Legislatures of all the States, and to Congress, asking the elective franchise for women. We are just preparing the appeal. Waldo Emerson will sign it. So will Higginson, George William Curtis and others, eminent literary men. While of politicians, Ben Wade, Julian, Beecher, Tilton, and so on.

"Signed by such men, the effect will be very great on the Constitutional Convention at Albany, and on political conventions everywhere.

"Men must be made *ashamed* to confer the exercise of a natural right on men, of every nation and color, and leave their own mothers and daughters to be companions of rebels, idiots, lunatics, and men convicted of infamous crimes."

PARKER PILLSBURY TO MRS. CHACE

"*Concord, N. H., 20 June, 1867.* I am holding meetings on Sundays as opportunity offers, intending by them to keep alive the interest in the colored people.

"And to the colored man's claim for suffrage, I now add also the claim of woman; since everywhere, one helps the other.

"I only write you to take counsel. I wish, not being agent of any Society or Committee, to make collections pay expenses, and with so much am satisfied at present, when no more is offered. My own opinion is that more than Herculean effort is needed to save our country even now. Horace Greeley is severely censured for bailing Jefferson

Davis; but Henry Wilson is giving bail for the whole South; and now the whole North is going out to meet Andrew Johnson and give him all the welcome and honor they could bestow on a Lafayette or a Washington.

"To many the ground is all roses, the sky all rainbows; but my philosophy instructs me far otherwise.

"Could a meeting, in your judgment, be made to serve good ends in Pawtucket and Woonsocket?

"Perhaps I should not trouble you, and I would not, only that I trust in this subject we have a common interest."

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"*Little Compton, August 20th, 1867.* We went as far north as Centre Harbor on Lake Winnepesaukee (I believe that is right) and then we all: Father, Mother, Lillie and I went up Red Hill on horseback! Which experiment proved ruinous to the welfare of my much respected Dad, so we had to start for home."

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"*Valley Falls, 10th month, 20.* As for a gentleman friend, I never had one to my knowledge, to whom I could tell everything. My brother Sam came nearer than any one else. I loved him better than any one, and he used to tell me everything about himself, so, of course, I returned the confidence. But he is gone."

For several years, two of the younger members of Mrs. Chace's family were principals in getting up Sunday lectures in Providence. The lecturers were generally visitors at the Homestead during their stay in Rhode Island, and thus the Rev. John Weiss became an habitu   of the house, while Mrs. Chace and her children also met him frequently in Boston.

He introduced them as members into the famous Radical Club, which for eight or ten years met once a month on Monday forenoons in the parlors either of Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol or of the Rev. John T. Sargent. The wife of the latter was undoubtedly, and to all appearance, the real head of the Club, and its meetings grew increasingly to be invited receptions in her salon.

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"Valley Falls, 5th month, 3rd, 1868. It is of no use for me to try to dodge it. I've got to *work* in my life and must stick close to it now and thus be much better fitted for a by and by. That is what I meant when I spoke as I did about those meetings in Boston.

"When I go I am always very much interested and like it very much for the time being—but those great thoughts I cannot understand by a mere passing attention, and cannot give longer time to think about them. My thoughts in every day life are so utterly at variance with them, that they cannot be in the same headful. For instance, you remember that subject talked of that time we were both there.—'We come direct from the Divine Center of God himself and that we are to return to him again.' You remember Mrs. Wells spoke beautifully about it saying 'if we did come from God, how much purer and better we should be,' and going on to give that as a reason to stimulate, if not a reason *for* our being good. Well now—with my poor, practical brain, I cannot see the wisdom in the discussion of such a subject. In the first place, they may talk from now until the day of judgment and cannot know whether they do come from that Divine Source, and as for its being a reason (if we do come from God and are therefore part of him) that we should act better, it makes me think of a man who didn't know who his father was and so ran around the world to find him, so he might know *how to*

act! I don't see that it makes any difference where we came from, or where we are going; *our duty is the same.*

"I am going along splendidly with my business. Father lets me do things which he would not think of trusting me to do, if the *poor fellow* had any one else to do them. He sends me to Boston to sell goods, because he is too old to go himself and he has no one else to go, and so, as soon as he finds I *can* do *one* thing, he tries me at another. Although I have to work very hard and constantly—I do enjoy it. Sometimes I think I am somebody after all."

Once in this general period Mrs. Chace commanded Mr. Phillips' attention in a Boston Hall and remonstrated with him after this fashion:

"The Free Religious Association is holding wonderful meetings now. We miss thee in all that work. Why does thee not take part in it? It does not seem right to have such meetings in Boston and not have thee in them."

He listened to her gravely.

"I am very busy," he said, "trying to settle up all the difficulties that slavery has left in this country. It is very important that no fragment of that trouble should remain to embarrass the future,—and there are not many people who will work about it. There are a great many who will carry on this movement of which you speak."

"But thee does think," she persisted in a tone of inquiry, "that the Free Religious Society is doing a good work?"

"Oh yes, excellent—excellent," he answered.

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE

"*New York, May 13th, 1868.* We went to the Academy of Music and heard the grandest lecture [on Daniel O'Connell] from Wendell Phillips. Eddie better take thee and Sarah to hear it in Providence. I hope father is well."

"*May 15th.* I saw a good deal of Mr. [Wm. H.] Holmes. He is a very sensible man, and has excellent ideas. If I get a letter encouraging me to stay over First-day, I shall probably do so, as I want to call on several people, and hear Frothingham preach. I go to the Peace Meeting today."

J. SWAIN TO MRS. CHACE

"*Lotus, Indiana, Sept. 24, 1868.* Thy dear father was arrayed in the very front ranks of the anti-slavery host. His blows were dealt with telling effect. I was among the many thousands in this State who were strengthened in our anti-slavery sentiment by his earnest and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of the down-trodden."

Mr. Phillips came to the Homestead once in this period of 1867-68. He seemed very sad. Mrs. Chace and I stood with him a moment at the foot of the staircase. He broke suddenly into impassioned speech, exclaiming:

"Oh, I don't feel that there is much satisfaction to be gotten out of this life."

She answered in the tone of a tender elder sister, "Thou should not feel like that."

The tears came into his eyes. "Half the men I worked with for thirty years will not speak to me when they meet me on the street," he said.

Her gentleness was helpless before his trouble. "That is hard,—I know," she almost whispered.

He took quick control of himself and said, "I was talking the other day with my friend Mrs. Eddy, and I told her that I believed if her father [Francis Jackson] were living, he would understand me now."

In 1869 Mrs. Chace was Vice-President for Rhode Island of the American Equal Rights Association.

A brief outline of the History of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association during its first thirty years of existence is here given as a sort of framework to support the story of Mrs. Chace's personal life.

On the 23rd day of October, 1868, there assembled in Boston a gathering composed largely of old Abolitionists, who organized the New England Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Chace and Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis were among the number. They returned home determined to organize a State Society. They went together from house to house in Rhode Island; they wrote letters soliciting interest and asking signatures to a Call which they prepared for a Convention. The *Providence Journal* published the Call every day for a week, and made no charge.

For some months after the Convention, meetings were held nearly every week and later every fortnight. These, or committee meetings, were continued for many years. In the first year, petitions were circulated for an amendment to the State constitution which should confer the elective franchise on women. In 1886 the Legislature submitted such an amendment to the men of Rhode Island, seven thousand of whom voted in favor of it. The women worked on courageously after the defeat of the amendment.

The Association in due time became auxiliary to the American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1870 Mrs. Chace succeeded Mrs. Davis in the Presidency, and she held that office till her death in 1899.

The American and National Associations united in 1891, and the Rhode Island Society then became auxiliary to the combined organization. In 1892 a charter was obtained by the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Society.

When this State Society was first formed, the National Association had been in existence since several years before the Civil War. Its headquarters were in New York, and

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott were among its leading members. The latter was, however, then very old, and although deeply revered for her saintliness, and also in a way still influential, some people had begun to feel that she had grown liable to form erroneous judgments. About this time, two or three brilliant men and women blazed rather like baleful stars above the social horizon, and sought to influence the movement in the fields where the reformer was trying to be at once, plowman, sower and reaper of a moral harvest.

There was also in 1868, still existent, The Equal Rights Association which had been formed to secure the political rights of both negroes and women.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER TO MRS. CHACE

“Worcester, Dec. 2, 1868. Your kind invitation to Abby and me to attend a Woman Suffrage Convention in Providence on the 10th inst. was duly received. I am much gratified by the promptness you have shown in this matter of State Associations, and sincerely hope the other N. E. States will imitate your noble example.

“Allow me to suggest the importance of so conducting the Convention as to harmonize any conflicting elements there may possibly be among you.”

DR. ALEXIS CASWELL TO MRS. CHACE

“Brown University, Dec. 5th, 1868. Your letter inviting me to join in the call of a Convention ‘to consider the rightfulness and importance of extending the franchise to women,’ was duly received. I regret that business in the street prevented my being at home at the time your son called yesterday.

“I must frankly say to you that I should not have seen my way clear to unite in the Call. Yet I hold myself ready to receive light and instruction on the subject. There are

certainly *some* arguments in favor of such an extension of the right of suffrage. Fuller consideration may show them to be conclusive. I shall watch the proceedings of the Convention with interest."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Roxbury, Dec. 7, 1868.* On account of ill health, I have been waiting, since the receipt of your letter, to see whether I might safely promise to attend the Woman Suffrage Convention at Providence; but I am now only able to say, that if I fail to be there in person, I will at least send my written testimony in furtherance of the good cause. I am glad to hear that Lucy Stone and Col. Higginson intend being present at the Convention."

The convention met on December 11th in Roger Williams Hall, and Mrs. Chace presided. The Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association was formed. Its first officers were: *President*, Paulina Wright Davis; *Vice-Presidents*, Catharine W. Hart, Sarah Helen Whitman, Thomas Davis, Rowland G. Hazard, John Boyden, Charles Howard Malcolm; *Secretary*, Rhoda Anna Fairbanks; *Treasurer*, Marcus T. Janes; *Executive Committee*, Elizabeth B. Chace, Susan B. Harris, Elizabeth K. Churchill, William F. Channing, Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"*Valley Falls, Dec. 20.* We have just had a Woman Suffrage convention in Providence. I say 'we' but can hardly claim that I had anything to do with the matter. Mother was one of the chief movers, and presided. Oh! Can you imagine my feelings at seeing my own mother in such an unwomanly position! Mrs. Severance and Mrs. Moore were there from Boston; Lucy Stone, and Mr. Higginson, and Fred Douglass,

the best *man* of them all. Do you want to vote? I think a good share of the real men (I mean *men*, not snobs) are in favor of the movement, or at least willing. I can see no reason why women should not have an equal right with men in this as well as in all other privileges. And indeed, I should feel an awful shame if I should assert that (as a man) I was superior to women.

“Fred Douglass said, I was the only man he ever saw who got ‘high’ on cold water.”

It may be explained that the writer of the foregoing letter was some inches over six feet tall.

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

Undated

“You will see the editorial in this morning’s *Journal*, which *you* should answer,—not its small talk, but what it raises of false issues and of objections. Nobody but you should answer it. The name of Elizabeth Chace, backed by the position of Samuel Chace, gives you a vantage ground, possessed by no other person here,—to give weight and respectability and wings to our cause. So let the housekeeping take care of itself while you take care of the Republic.”

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH

FAMILY LETTERS; MR. CHACE'S INCREASING ILLNESS; DIVISION IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE RANKS; MRS. CHACE'S ATTITUDE; FORMATION OF AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

“1ST mo., 15th, 1869. Honestly, I scarcely know what to write to you about, I live so little outside of my work. I sometimes think and mother often tells me, that I think too much of it and not enough of other things. My music is nearly my only recreation (besides horses!). Oh! and dogs. It is a growing certainty that Father must not be troubled with ‘things’ much longer—so you see I shall have a great responsibility, and if you know me as well as I think you do, you know, I never want to undertake anything which I am unable to carry through. The more I do, the more I will *know*, and the more I *can* do.

“Arnold delivered a temperance lecture last Sunday evening at our Hall, and has gone to Providence tonight to repeat it. The paper announced a ‘lecture by Mr. A. B. Chace, Professor of Chemistry at Brown University, who has recently dwelt in Europe for a long time, and having traveled largely will be able to,’ etc., etc., etc. Ahem! Aren’t we honored? That’s what Father calls putting on foreign airs. But the lecture was really very fine.”

MRS. PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS TO MRS. CHACE

"*Jacksonville, Feb. 18.* I cannot sufficiently thank you for your very kind letter so full of details that I wanted to get. The Newspaper or rather the *Journal* report was so meagre.

"There are some Providence people here and I talk to them precisely as though I thought them just as much interested as I am and so I carry them along. I shall get some subscribers to the *Advocate*, but what a hateful name it is. If I had the command of means, I would revive the *Una*; hire the best editor I could get and scatter it over the state. Why can't we do it? It was the first woman's rights paper ever started and surely there is wealth enough to support it—in our own city till this campaign is over.

"I have written a long letter to Sorosis upon Maternal Homes and Foundlings and today I had a letter from Mrs. Burleigh asking me to elaborate my plan or thought for a Women's Congress for Sorosis. Dear E. I do feel as though I must work untrammelled and how am I to do it with a husband feeling that I belong to him alone and that I have nothing to do outside of home duties? I do try to do every duty there and then to scrimp out of my sleep and personal expenses something for others but this does not satisfy me. Well, no one is ever satisfied in this life, I think. The school-house is not yet finished—teachers have gone away disheartened but the people are trying hard to do their best, I think. Certainly they are working well. They seem glad to see me. I have no fear of their lapsing back into barbarism but I fear for their morals. They will vibrate through the entire scale but in the end their religious nature will save them. I do love them as a race. Extremes meet you know and I have vast sympathies with them.

"My love to your children. I hope ere this, your anxiety about Mr. Chace is relieved."



PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON TO MRS. CHACE

"*New York, April 15th.* I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing and hearing you in the Convention in New York. New England must not withdraw the light of her countenance altogether from us, lest for lack of its wisdom and caution we go to destruction. Though we may differ a little as to ways and means, we are all together in the great principle that the safety of the nation demands that woman's voice be recognized in the government.

"Please have the call noticed in your journals, and give us your aid in making this an enthusiastic convention. We shall have delegates from most of the Western States. Anna Dickinson writes us that the West is all ablaze on this question."

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"*Counting Room, V. F. Co., 5 mo., 30, 1869.* I tell you it makes me feel weak and lonely sometimes when I see what is coming to us. Father is slowly but I fear so surely failing. He is so weak and lame now, he can with the greatest difficulty sit up, and he has a great deal of the most severe pain, so severe that he lies and wishes he could die. Poor old daddie! It seems so hard after he has worked so hard all his life and not for himself either; he always said he should be satisfied, if when he died, he could leave the world a little better than he found it. He said to me the other day, after talking about his disease and its hopelessness, that he didn't care so much for death but he had always hoped when the time came he could die without having to suffer so much. He is just as good and nice and sweet about it; never complaining harshly, but merely wishing in his worst pains, that it might not be so."

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"*July 11th, 1869.* I have been reading your article in the last *Advocate* and also that of Wendell Phillips, and also that part of his article which was omitted from the *Advocate*. They are both good articles, (saving that part of Mr. Phillips' which went into the *Standard*). But I think it is a great pity to try and create or give currency to the idea, that the Woman's movement is opposed to the 15th amendment.

"At every convention, even at the last New York anniversary, we have adopted resolutions 'heartily endorsing' the 15th amendment. A very large number of woman's rights women are old Abolitionists, and of necessity rejoice in every gain for the negro. It is not true, that our 'movement' is opposed to the negro. But it will be very easy to make it so, to the mutual harm of both causes. Except Mrs. Stanton, Susan, Paulina and Phœbe Cozzens, I do not know *one* advocate of this cause who opposes the 15th amendment.

"For the sake of these, however active and prominent, is it fair or wise to charge the movement with it? I think Aaron Powell is so misled by his hatred to Susan and Mrs. Stanton that he is willing on such a slight foundation to charge the cause with the fault of these few and it is a great pity, both for the sake of the negro, and for the sake of woman.

"Just arouse Mrs. Stanton's ire and with her paper circulating largely in the doubtful Western States, she can defeat the 15th amendment.

"I am sorry Mr. Phillips should do himself and us the large injustice which calls our cause a selfish one.

"Do not let us interfere with the real claim of our cause by allowing the enemy to suppose that *we* are fighting the very principles, we are seeking to establish. If a few do, our great, good cause is clear of any such charge, and we ought to hold up its banner.

“I feel dreadfully hurt by this new load we have to carry, and there is no need of it. *We do not deserve it.*”

At this time, Mrs. Stanton edited *The Revolution*, a weekly paper which was practically, whether or not officially, the organ of her group of Woman's Rights people, among whom George Francis Train, a brilliant, amiable man, continued prominent, a little too long, as his mental eccentricity progressed towards lunacy.

The *Standard*, edited by Aaron M. Powell, was still the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and was also, practically, Wendell Phillips' personal organ. *The Advocate* was a Woman Suffrage periodical which had a brief existence, and was published by William P. Tomlinson, one of the younger Abolitionists, who for a time was Mr. Powell's assistant on the *Standard*.

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

“8 mo., 10th, 1869. We all feel fine today for we have stopped our mills to let the ‘help’ go to the shore for a clam bake, and they have just gone by with a band, giving us a serenade.

“Father is failing very fast and now wants to go, himself, or, at least, is in so much pain he can hardly bear to live. I doubt very much if any one in a rational state of mind, no matter under what circumstances, really desires death. They desire to be relieved of pain and sometimes when pain, or death, are the only choice one may desire death, but generally, we hope till the last.

“Father showed, the other day, by his manifest pleasure at being told by a friend that he [the friend] had been as ill as he was and yet recovered, that he still hoped. Indeed, since the days when we *played* together in the hall and wrote notes from the windows and walked and raced and snowballed

together at Lexington, there has been a great change. That was four years ago, and I cannot help thinking if, as of course they will, each four years brings with it equal change, where, what, and who shall we be twenty years from now, when we are forty! Don't you feel awestruck at the thought? It comes nearer making me want to pray than anything, to look forward twenty years and wonder what I shall be. I do so hope I shall be right and that I shall have no stains that cannot be atoned for, and yet I must say, I fear."

In August, 1869, Mrs. Stone sent to Mrs. Chace a circular letter signed by herself, Caroline M. Severance, Julia Ward Howe, T. W. Higginson and George H. Vibbert. This circular proposed the formation of The American Woman Suffrage Association.

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"*Aug. 17.* Do you approve the plan? It is not designed to make any quarrel or antagonism with Mrs. Stanton's organization, but to unite those who can work steadily to one end, who will not injure our claim by opposition to the 15th Amendment, or chase after side issues.

"Will you give your name to a call for a convention to form such Association?"

The proposed Convention to form the American Association was called to meet in Cleveland, Ohio.

The main issues, as openly stated, between the National Woman Suffrage Association and the persons who inaugurated the Cleveland Convention, were about the 15th Amendment and the propriety of discussing the marriage and divorce question in Woman's Rights meetings and authorized journals. The latter was an old issue. Mrs. Stanton introduced the divorce question into a New York Convention in 1860,

and Mr. Phillips rather vehemently opposed its introduction, as irrelevant to the proper objects of a "woman's" movement. He said that marriage concerned men as vitally as it did women. The party which moved towards Cleveland held this to be the proper attitude for a Woman's Rights party, that it had to do with marriage law only as such law bore unequally upon men and women, and not as it related to the establishment, maintenance and regulation of the institution itself.

The Stantonites argued in opposition that nature itself made the marriage institution affect women more vitally than it did men.

Mrs. Stanton, in this year of 1869, converted Mrs. Davis to the opinion that the adoption of the 15th Amendment to the United States Constitution would delay the passage of State or National legislation enfranchising women. Mrs. Davis came to Valley Falls and talked long to Mrs. Chace, trying to win her adherence to a policy which should be practically that of opposition to granting negro suffrage before woman suffrage had been gained.

I clearly remember the interview,—the gracious, beautiful, earnest woman talking,—the other sitting mainly in a silence which seemed almost like a heavily-freighted atmosphere around her.

It was really a critical period, of some national importance, for had the Stantonites gained the Rhode Island Woman Suffragists the whole effect on the Woman's Rights and Negro Suffrage movements would certainly have been very serious.

Mrs. Chace considered it all carefully, and she did waver for a few days between the two opinions. She was naturally influenced by Mrs. Davis. It was creditable to her, as a friend, that she should be. I think, moreover, that the 15th Amendment matter had been so skillfully phrased to her, that

she did not, at first, quite see that the Stanton plan was one of practical opposition to its passage. She saw it rather as a refraining in Woman's Rights meetings from giving express endorsement to a measure designed to increase the number of male voters in the country, who would probably use their power to keep women disfranchised.

She did not say much, but I saw that she was hesitating, and summoned my young energies determined that she should not go over to the Stantonites, and said to her substantially: "It is really the same question now that it was four or five years ago,—is it our duty to keep on working in every way we can till the negro race has political equality with the white? Thee decided then against even Mr. Garrison and with Mr. Phillips that we must use every means everywhere for that purpose. Thee can't now as a Woman Suffragist give up endorsing what as an Abolitionist thee decided then to work for."

Perhaps my effort was not needed. Probably indeed, the life-long trend of her thought would have settled the matter without my interference. At any rate the Rhode Island Society swung itself into line with the Cleveland party with her coöperation.

To believe that marriage and divorce questions should be discussed in Woman's Rights meetings and also to believe that there are several reasons for which divorce should be granted is not necessarily to believe in "free love." But in a period of fervent question about the rights of women, people would have a tendency to talk, if permitted to do so, on these subjects in Woman's Rights meetings, and those persons who held the *least* moral opinions would certainly express them and the listening world would certainly consider them to be the endorsed utterance of the Woman's Rights party. Moreover, some serious opinion, which was not strictly insistent upon the legal inviolability of the marriage bond, would be

construed to be the same as the free love doctrine, and in view of these inevitable results Mrs. Chace came to feel that the method best for the Woman Suffragists was that inaugurated by the American Association, which prohibited in its meetings the marriage topic as not germane to its purpose.

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

"As to the children who work in the mills, I think no one sees the cruelty of it more than I do. If you could see every day, as I have to, the poor little pinched faces and the arms just large enough to contain the bones, you would condemn the practice in still stronger terms. But how can it be helped? In a great proportion of the cases when children work in the mills who ought, as you say, be playing in the fields, they would be playing on an empty stomach! And now you may say it is because we do not pay wages enough.

"It is a long story, but I do not think that that is the trouble. There is enough produced in the whole world for each to have his share, and in our village the want and misery of the little ones is directly traceable,—I won't say in *all* cases,—but in *nearly* all the cases to the immediate effects of *rum*. I will venture to say there is more than enough money spent for rum in our village than would be necessary to hire able-bodied men to do the work of those children so as to enable them to have the play in the open air they so much need."

MRS. ELIZABETH K. CHURCHILL TO MRS. CHACE

"*Monday noon.* I commenced a reply to the article you mention, but found the difficulty of avoiding Scylla on the one hand, and Charybdis on the other, so great, that I laid it aside.

"I do not wish to publish what I have written without your approval. To tell the truth, I think Mrs. Stanton will do us infinite mischief by such gabble, and we owe it to ourselves and the cause to say that the *Rev[olution]* is not the authorized organ of our party; and that the piece quoted by the *Journal*, if it means what it says, is foolish and sinful, but the point of vexation is, that the editorial comments are bitterly unjust to those of us of whose sentiments they [the *Journal* writers] know nothing, and the whole piece expresses an indifference to the movement [for Woman's Rights] which is especially ill-timed, and at which we have a right to feel indignant.

"I send you what I have at last written, with full permission to add to, or take from, or suppress entirely, as you see fit, except that I cannot consent to defend Mrs. Stanton's sentiments. I think that we might, however, receive a better impression of them, could we read the whole of her article. As it stands, it does, as they assert, uphold the evil doctrine of free love, which I do not think she means to do.

"If you send my article to the *Journal*, it is not needful to say who wrote it, and it will be surer of insertion if it is supposed to come from one of your family.

"I shall feel sorry but not surprised to hear that it is not what you want, and not [at] all hurt if you do not use it.

"Lucy Stone spoke to me of our getting some one to ascertain, from the tax books, the amount of property for which Providence women are taxed. Is it not best to have it done?

"The fact that the agent of the *Revolution* was so active at that time [of a recent Convention in Providence] and with the apparent sanction of the convention, rather gives the lie to my statement that the *Revolution* is not the organ of the party, and there is a chance for their retorting sharply.

"Why will Mrs. S. be so unwise? She makes one pray

afresh, 'Lord, deliver us from our friends, and we will take care of our enemies.'

"I am told that Horace Greeley is coming here soon to lecture upon Woman."

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON TO MRS. CHACE

"Oct. 15, 1869. If the 15th Amendment is attacked, it must be defended.

"I hope you can go to Cleveland; I expect to go on."

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

"Oct. 17. I hope you will make sure to have your Convention appoint delegates to Cleveland. Get Mr. Garrison to help you. It is very important to carry your Society with *our* organization."

MRS. CAROLINE M. SEVARANCE TO MRS. CHACE

"Oct. 19. What about your Convention? I *wish* I were able to help you in it,—to hold up *your* hands. But Mr. Higginson and Lillie must do that. I beg that you will appoint him and Mr. Hazard, as your delegates to Cleveland; and cannot you or Lillie go? We *must* be strong there.

"Mr. Garrison will go, and he is a host, at the West especially."

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE TO MRS. CHACE

"*Boston, Oct. 25th.* By the names signed to the inclosed document, you may judge of the weight and influence of those who think it needful to form an *American Woman Suffrage Association.*

"The Executive Committee of the N. E. Association consider the Convention thus called a highly important one. Unfortunately, the Committee are unable to pay even the ex-

penses of those who go on this mission; they can only hope that most of those appointed as delegates and you,—or your daughter as your substitute—among the number, can give such time and money as attendance on the Convention will require, and can help forward its great object by your presence, counsel and action.”

MRS. LUCY STONE TO MRS. CHACE

“Nov. 6, 1869. I have just read your letter to Mr. Whipple and see how difficult it will be for any of you to be at Cleveland. Still I want to say that if possible either you or Lillie or Arnold [should] be there at least one day to vote on the organization. Mrs. Davis went home, I am told, from the Hartford meeting, saying she should get the vote appointing delegates to Cleveland recalled, etc., etc.

“Now your State will be *entitled* to its full vote, and if those who were appointed—except Mr. Higginson—do not go, it will be easy to substitute one or more of your family. The occasion is so important, and there is such *sore need* of organizing now *so well and worthily*, that we may have *nothing* to undo afterward, that it seems a pity to have a possibility of failure for lack of votes.

“Give cordial sympathy to Mr. Chace. I am very sorry he is such a sufferer, but glad he has kind hands to care for him.”

On account of Mr. Chace's illness neither Mrs. Chace nor any member of her family went to Cleveland, where the American Woman's Suffrage Association was formed.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH

WORK TO ESTABLISH THE LADY BOARD OF VISITORS FOR STATE
INSTITUTIONS; HOME LIFE; DEATH OF MR. CHACE;
ADDRESS OF MR. GARRISON; DEATH OF EDWARD GOULD
CHACE; LETTERS; WESTERN TRIP; MARRIAGE OF ARNOLD
BUFFUM CHACE

EDWARD GOULD CHACE TO C. M. H.

“**H**ERE I am at home, the strongest, most reliable (ahem!) member of the family and, of course, I have everything my own way, for it does not come a bit natural for me to mind. Mother always said she had one child she didn't know what would become of, for he never would mind unless he took a notion to.

“Speaking of music.—I came into the house last night and what do you think? I heard some one playing on a piano in our library! Yes—Mother had sent into Providence and had it brought out.”

No woman in Rhode Island had ever held any appointment which gave her official relation with the State penal and educational institutions, when Mrs. Chace began her efforts to obtain legislative decree that women should be placed on boards of management of institutions in which women and children were confined or given shelter.

She agitated the matter persistently but did not at once attain her object.

The following manuscript has no year date, but it undoubtedly belongs to the investigating period which immediately

preceded or followed Mrs. Chace's public work in behalf of the female wards of the State.

"July 18th. Visited the Prison in company with Phebe Jackson. Accompanied by the Warden, we explored the kitchen, the workshops for the men, the sewing room for the women, and the laundry, and, to some extent, examined the cells. These latter were clean from recent scrubbing and whitewashing.

"[We] were shown one of the dark, partly underground cells, where, for gross insubordination, prisoners are sometimes confined for from twelve to twenty-four hours. No furniture, simply bare walls and floor. The darkness [is] considered necessary to concentrate the thoughts of the offender upon himself.

"The men were nearly all at work at shoemaking. All, whom we saw, who were not, were employed in the kitchen, and one man confined in a light cell with a ball and chain attached to his foot for an assault upon an officer of the prison.

"There are sixty-six men who are State prisoners and three women. The jail prisoners are constantly changing. All three of the women are sentenced for life, having been convicted of murder. One of these is almost eighty years old, another is insane, and the third is a smart, active woman about fifty years old. She was in the laundry, where she and several jail women were cleaning up after washing. Two or three of these were colored. The Matron is a very kind, gentle-looking woman.

"We saw the men come in from the workshops and take their suppers of mush and milk, in their hands, and go to their cells. Before they enter they are all searched to prevent the possibility of their bringing in concealed tools. When they reach the cell doors, any of them who have misbehaved have their supper taken from them.

"The Warden says he selects, for under-officers, men of gentle, unexcitable temper, that they may not irritate the prisoners.

"After supper there is an evening school for the men, of which, he said, they were very fond of availing themselves. I inquired if the women had the same opportunity. He said they had, but cared much less for it. He said the men read much from the library, the women very little.

"*July 19th.* I visited the Reform School at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Mrs. Talbot was there, and was to address the children at six. I spent the time intervening in the nursery, with a young girl who is far gone in consumption. She had been in her childhood an inmate of the Children's Home, and was sent from there to the Reform School. After staying a few years, she was permitted to go out and live with her aunt. In six months she was back, physically wrecked, her aunt having been unable to control her, and keep her from going to the vilest places where men enticed her, at one of which she was found and brought here. This I learned, partly from Mr. Talcott and partly from a woman, I have since seen, who had some knowledge of her from her children. With herself I held the following conversation: 'How old are you?' 'Nineteen.' 'Are you the oldest girl here?' 'Oh no, there are several here who will go out next year at twenty-one.' 'Do you think they are fitted to go out into the world, and behave well and take care of themselves?' 'No, not one of them. There is not one of them'—very emphatically—"that I could trust." 'What is the matter, if this is a Reform School?'

"She replied, 'Because the influences of the yard are very bad. Mr. Talcott does everything he can to reform them [the girls]; he talks with them and prays with them, but the influences outside of the house are stronger than they are inside.'

“I asked her to explain. She said: ‘Girls come here who are taken up for stealing or some light offence, who do not know all that the older girls do, till they hear it talked about in the yard. Now, I came here when I was thirteen years old. I was saucy and naughty, and they couldn’t live in the house with me at the Home, but I didn’t know anything about the badness that the older girls were here for, till I heard them always talking about it in the yard.’

“She is a very pretty, gentle girl who was left an orphan at an early age. No one would suspect her, from anything in her appearance, of having anything bad in her. She seems simply like a person who was easily tempted.

“At the appointed time, I went into the Chapel. This is a large room, the whole center of which is occupied with nice seats with desks before them. These were filled with boys dressed apparently very much like other boys. On two sides of the room are seats for visitors and any adult members of the household who are not occupied elsewhere. At one end is a platform for speakers, and at the other end is a raised floor, which is, I think, higher than the heads of persons sitting in the seats. A close balustrade or fence stretches across the front of this.

“As I took my seat, I said to the superintendent, ‘Where are the girls?’ He pointed to this raised floor and said, ‘There.’ I looked and I could see only the tops of their heads. When they were called on to sing, they [the girls] stood up and appeared to be dressed in blue and white stripes. All the rest of the time their faces were out of sight.

“Mrs. T[albot] addressed them all very earnestly and beautifully; but I could not help feeling that the boys must feel more as though it was for them than the girls could, as I did not think they could see her.

“I made some inquiries of Mr. T. and he said, that for the girls, he considered this merely a house of correction;—for

the boys it was a Reform School. I asked farther, and he said many of the boys went out to make useful, respectable men, but the girls who [became respectable women] were the exceptions. Their case seemed almost wholly hopeless. I asked him if he considered bad girls worse than bad boys, and he said 'Yes.' ”

Much of Mrs. Chace's effort in the year of 1870 to get a law passed authorizing the appointment of women to responsible office, was, of course, made through correspondence and interviews held in or near her own home, since this was the last year of Mr. Chace's life.

The following memorial was adopted by the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association on March 24, 1870:

“To the Governor of the State of Rhode Island.

“The undersigned women of the Rhode Island Women Suffrage Association respectfully declare that we do sincerely believe that the just treatment of persons confined in our State prison requires that intelligent, judicious and humane women be placed on the Boards of Inspectors and of State Charities and Corrections, who shall visit these places and perform their share of providing for the proper care, protection, instruction and discipline of the inmates, especially those of our own sex.

“We know that only women can fully understand and sympathize with the needs of fallen women, and that they can do more to reclaim fallen men than can any of their own sex.

“Studying the revised Statutes of our State we find that in the appointment of Inspectors, and all officers of our State Prisons, no reference is made to sex; so that whether these officers shall be all men or all women, or a wise combination of both sexes, rests entirely with the appointing power. We also know that within the memory of some of our women, who are now active in their interest for prisoners, there was

no woman employed as Matron in our State prison and the female prisoners were left entirely at the mercy of the male overseers.

“But when an awakened public sentiment demanded that these unfortunate children of the State should have one woman to care for them, there was found no difficulty in placing a matron on the Board of Officers.

“So, now, we believe the time has come when greater enlightenment requires that women should be allowed to do their share of the duties of inspectors, and until they are, we are painfully sure that much needed service due the unfortunate class confined in the prisons remains unperformed.

“Section 1st Chapter 228 of the Revised Statutes of Rhode Island declares thus,

“‘The oversight, management and control of the State prison shall be vested in a board of seven inspectors to be appointed annually by the Governor,’ and we believe the management of the State farm is similarly provided for.

“We do, therefore, respectfully ask you to exercise this power, which is unqualified by any mention of sex, in appointing three women on the Board of Inspectors of our State Prison and also on the Board of State Charities and Corrections.”

The above is signed by Elizabeth B. Chace as chairman, and her name is followed by those of several women prominent in the Association. The memorial also bears this endorsement:

“The undersigned entirely approve of the foregoing memorial, and recommend the appointment of women on the Board of Inspectors of our State Prison and State Farm.

“[Signed] Augustus Woodbury
 Thomas A. Doyle, Chairman of the Board of
 State Charities and Corrections.
 Jesse Metcalf, Inspector of State Prisons.”

Although the first idea, as indicated by this Memorial, was to try to take advantage of the omission from existing law of the adjective masculine in describing the qualifications necessary to appointment to inspectorship, it soon became apparent to Mrs. Chace and her co-workers that the customary interpretation of legal phrase, and also the special wording of some other legislation, made it impossible to slip women into office in any such manner. An appeal was made to a practised legislator, and, as his reply here given shows, it became evident that all which could be done immediately was, as he expresses it, to put women practically into office without exactly bestowing official uniform upon them.

HON. WILLIAM P. SHEFFIELD TO MRS. CHACE

"Newport, April 4th, 1870. I owe you an apology, for not preparing and introducing into the General Assembly, an Act to authorize the proper State officials to avail themselves of the aid of women in our public institutions for reforming and correcting offenders.

"It requires time to mature and develop a law such as you propose. It must necessarily touch the very confines of the powers of the General Assembly, for a woman is not eligible to any office, but [that] of School Committee, under our Constitution, and to create a place to be filled, or to designate duties to be performed without creating an office is a task delicate and difficult to be performed. I could not do it to the satisfaction of myself by the mere dashing of a pen, and I should be ashamed to attempt it and make a botch of it.

"I heartily sympathize with the idea of bringing the criminal classes under the influences of good women, and am willing to coöperate to this end."

EDWIN M. SNOW TO MRS. CHACE

"*Office of the Secretary of the Board of State Charities and Corrections, Providence, April 20, 1870.* Mr. Doyle has resigned from the Board of State C. and C. At the meeting today, your letter to him was read, and I urged another trial of Maggie, in accordance with your request; though if you knew her whole history, as I do, it would require a strong faith to believe she will do well.

"I think she is truthful, and will not steal, and is always good humored; but all her instincts are low and grovelling. I would be glad to tell you of her history if opportunity offers.

"But to return to your request. The decision of the Board is to let her go on probation, as you request, *if she desires it*, and if she does not, it would be of no use. Also, on condition that you take charge of her, and watch over her, and return her to the Farm, or notify us if she does not do well. She is also to remain at the place [where] you put her, and go nowhere else without your knowledge.

"If you will try her on these conditions, the time and manner of removing her are left with you.

"It does seem as if with so many good qualities as she has, she ought to do well, and I sincerely hope she may. Please let us hear when you take her, and of her progress often."

THOMAS A. DOYLE TO MRS. CHACE

"*June 14, 1870.* I beg you not to feel troubled over the slur in the *Journal* at my signature to the Memorial. I knew when I signed it that there was an error in regard to the State farm, but it was of such little consequence that I considered it of no account.

"I intended to 'entirely approve' of the principle involved, viz., the necessity of having women to examine institutions

where women were serving out sentences of Courts, and I cared nothing for the slight error as to forms.

"If the *Journal* did not give me a kick occasionally, I should feel that I had gone to sleep, so please pay no farther thought to anything they may have said.

"I wish you success in the work in which you are engaged."

The State Legislature made partial concession. A bill was passed in 1870, providing for the appointment by the Governor of a Board of Lady Visitors who should be authorized to visit and inspect all penal and correctional institutions of which women were inmates, and the Board was instructed to render to the Legislature an annual report, in which it might offer recommendations, but it had no power to enforce its suggestions.

MRS. S. E. H. DOYLE TO MRS. CHACE

"*June 20th, 1870.* I knew how much pleased you would be at that act being passed. We were all surprised at its going along so smoothly. I think we are really considerably indebted to Tom [Thomas A. Doyle] for it. I thought you would like to hear the names that were selected for the Inspectors. They were drawn up the night of the Fair. Whether Gov. Padelford will wish to make any alterations I do not know. The names were Mrs. Chace, Mrs. Henry Pitman, Mrs. Bucklin, Miss Dr. Tyng, Miss Phebe Jackson, Mrs. John D. Brown, and Mrs. Doyle.

"Mrs. Davis and I went to Gov. Padelford's Friday, but he was out of town. Tom thought as you did that we ought to hand in our names early, so that we should get the women we want placed on the board."

*“State of Rhode Island,
Secretary of State’s Office,
Providence, July 6, 1870.*

“*Madam:* I have the pleasure to inform you that Gov. Padelford has appointed you one of the Board of Visitors to the Penal and Correctional Institutions of the State, in virtue whereof I herewith enclose your commission. I am very Respectfully, Your obedient Servant, John R. Bartlett,
Secretary of State.

To Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace.”

Mrs. Chace personally felt rather scornful of this Legislative sop, but she accepted a position on the powerless Board and served faithfully, visiting especially the Reform School, which was then situated in Providence.

MRS. PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS TO MRS. CHACE

“*Sunday, July 17th* [year undoubtedly 1870]. No Commission has come to me, nor do I much believe that those will be appointed, who earnestly desire to serve, or who really have the work at heart. Your Commission, it seems to me, is [due to] the *fact* that you control votes, or, at least he [the Governor] thinks so;—otherwise your [woman] suffrage activity would preclude you. Miss Tyng has no boys and Mrs. [Louis J.] Doyle’s are very small. I hope I do not misjudge the man, but he seems to me a miserable temporizer.

“If a Commission comes, I shall certainly *serve*, at whatever sacrifice to myself, for though I do not desire it, I never shirk a plain duty. I am sorry Mrs. Hazard has declined, for she is made of the right stuff.

“I have been writing a good many letters abroad, in all of which I made mention of this new movement, and yet what a farce he [the Governor] is trying to make it. Why should Mrs. — have been appointed? It does seem as though

something might be done to rouse the women in this State to try to redeem its miserable politics, worse here than almost anywhere else."

GOVERNOR SETH PADEFORD TO MRS. CHACE

*"State of Rhode Island,
Executive Department,
July 18th, 1870.*

"Yours of the 16th is in hand. I will endeavor to fill up the Board of Visitors by the time of your adjourned meeting, the 26th inst.

"If agreeable I would like to see you at the Bank of North America on Friday or Saturday, July 22nd, or 23rd, at 12M."

J. M. TALCOTT TO MRS. CHACE

"Reform School, Prov., Nov. 25, 1870. I wish to become better acquainted with the Ladies composing the 'State Board of Visitors.' As yet I have had no notice of such a Board or their work, beyond what I have learned from the newspapers.

"May I suggest that at some early day, the Ladies of your Board meet at our Institution, and by conferring with each other and ourselves learn more of us and our work."

"Providence Reform School, Dec. 16, 1870. A Quarterly Meeting of the Trustees of the Providence Reform School will be held at the office of the School, on Tuesday next, Dec. 20, 1870, at 3 o'clock P.M. A full attendance is requested.

Edwin M. Snow, Sec.

"Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace is respectfully invited to attend the above meeting with Mr. Chace."

During Mr. Chace's illness, which lasted two years, his wife received a very urgent and affectionate invitation from Abby Kelley Foster to attend a Woman's Rights Convention

at Worcester, and as she much needed a change at the time, and as not only her presence but her daughter's was especially desired, she, accompanied by that daughter, made the brief trip away from the Homestead. But she very seldom went farther than Providence, and not often *so* far from her husband's sick-room in the last eighteen months of his life.

During all his active life, if he did not see her the moment he entered the house, he had always said, "Where is mother!" Now he had her with him almost all the time. She guarded him constantly from overhearing, or knowing of, movement in the house, which seemed to disturb him. Nevertheless, when Ned came of age, she arranged for him a birthday party; and so closed doors, and managed entrances and exits, that Mr. Chace scarcely knew what was going on, although he occupied a suite of rooms on the lower floor of the house.

In the autumn of 1870 Clara M. Holmes came to visit at the Homestead, and Mr. Chace was especially happy in seeing her, as she had long been engaged to Ned.

The end came gradually and peacefully at the last.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"Roxbury, Dec. 18, 1870. The telegram, announcing the translation of your dear husband, was received last night at 10 o'clock, just as I had retired to rest. The intelligence was not unexpected, in view of his long, wasting illness; nor sorrowful, seeing the utter hopelessness of his case, and the extreme bodily suffering which characterized it. Nevertheless, the separation cannot be without its grief to you and the children; for he always seemed to me the kindest of husbands and fathers, and devotedly attached to his home.

"Constitutionally cautious and retiring in his disposition, he was not afraid to espouse a good cause because of its unpopularity, and carried within his bosom a warm and generous heart in the cause of suffering humanity.

“How beautifully and thoroughly he recognized and respected your equal right to think and act for yourself, whether relating to public or private matters! A benediction upon his memory!

“My dear wife and children send you and yours their sympathies and regards; and we all desire to be specially remembered to your venerable and venerated mother.”

The funeral was in the house, and William Lloyd Garrison made the principal address. A crowd of the village factory people meanwhile gathered in the yard and street, and when the casket was borne out of the Homestead, the bearers, of their own accord, set it down before the steps, opened it, and the throng reverently passed by and looked once more on the benign countenance.

Mr. Chace's coachman, Joe Collet, a young French Canadian, had driven him during his illness in a buggy which had been especially built for him. Joe asked permission to drive the hearse. “Mr. Chace liked my driving,” said the lad. So the master's own horses were harnessed to the hearse, and Joe drove, for the last time, all that was mortal of Samuel Buffington Chace away from the Homestead gates.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON
AT MR. CHACE'S FUNERAL

“We are admonished never to speak ill of the dead. I can only speak well of our deceased friend, because I know no ill of him. Doubtless he had his failings; for who is impeccable? But he bore himself with such modesty of deportment, such gentleness and kindness of spirit, such incorruptible integrity of purpose, such habitual good will to all his fellow creatures, that I saw nothing to regret or reprove in all my extended acquaintance with him. No one ever more circumspectly ‘pursued the even tenor of his way’; seeking to keep a con-

science void of offence toward God and toward man. A birth-right member of the Society of Friends, and living and dying in connection with it, he cherished no exclusiveness of spirit toward others not of that fold, but impartially judged of the tree by its fruits.

"An extensive manufacturer, our departed friend took a deep interest in the welfare and elevation of the laboring classes: providing for them evening schools, and in other methods contributing to their improvement; at all times dealing justly with them in the strict fulfillment of his contracts, and aiming to secure reciprocal good will. No more striking proof of the amicable relations which subsisted between [him and] the employed is needed than his own choice for the bearers at his funeral, of men who had been in his employ for many years: three of them over thirty years. A most honorable escort.

"To the cause of temperance he gave both his example and influence.

"It is an easy matter to be an abolitionist at the present day, because it is to be on the winning side. But it was a very different affair to assume that title even only ten years ago. Yet not ten, but thirty-five years since, our departed friend, in the darkest and stormiest period of the Anti-Slavery conflict, gave in his adhesion to the cause. From that day his door and heart were open to the proscribed advocates of the oppressed; and in the face of the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law his home was converted into a station-house on the branch of the underground railroad running from New Bedford to Canada; and no efforts were wanting on his part to make it a safe retreat.

"There are too many whose honesty is simply conventional: who think that they are acquitted of their moral obligations when they comply with what is legally required or allowed. Not such was our departed friend: not such his worthy

brother, in business partnership. In the vicissitudes attending all large manufacturing operations, they were at one period unable to meet their liabilities, and so were forced to compound with their creditors to the extent of their available means; and they were relieved of any further legal claim upon them. But their integrity was proof against taking advantage of this legal exemption beyond the necessities of their situation. Subsequently prospering in business, they paid the full balance of what they owed with all the interest that had accrued thereon: deeming it nothing meritorious, but a duty which simple honesty enjoined upon them. This is indeed to be righteous for righteousness' sake; and no better test of character can be desired."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO ARNOLD B. CHACE

"*Roxbury, Dec. 25, 1870.* Your letter is received. I needed no assurance that you would all appreciate the testimony I bore to your dear father's memory, though it was less complete than I should have made it if I had not supposed that other speakers would follow me.

"Regretting that Mr. Phillips was not able to participate in the funeral services, and wishing to be affectionately remembered to your mother, and brother and sisters, with my reverent regards to your grandmother, I remain Yours with warm esteem."

The manuscript of the following article was sent to Mrs. Chace from the office of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and is now in the possession of her children. It is written in pencil, and in this reproduction the careless dash punctuation of the original is given:

"I hear of the death of our dear friend Samuel Chace of Valley Falls.

"Every laborer in the reform field will remember that home, with its cordial welcome and generous coöperation.

No new idea, no humane plan, no movement—unpopular because too advanced for present recognition,—that did not find shelter and efficient help there. And we all remember gratefully the friendly hand, the wise counsel and the example of rare patience of the master. Great sufferer for weary years as Mr. Chace was,—we cannot sorrow over his release. But the circle that loved him—and the circle which counted him among its standard bearers will miss him nevertheless.

“One by one the old toilers pass forward; reminding us how long the struggle for justice has lasted. The years seemed short, but age came as we labored and the three score years and the four score broke our ranks. Any life so well spent leaves grand results. He leaves too, those who will keep his memory alive by carrying on his work.—

“Cherishing his example they will fill the place his death makes vacant—and let us still hear his name in the vanguard of progress—Those of us who remain will draw the closer together—as the circle narrows—grateful that we have been allowed to see such success in our lives’-time as no other reform ever achieved.

Wendell Phillips.”

FROM A MANUSCRIPT DRAFT BY ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE

“Samuel B. Chace was born in Somerset, Mass., on the eleventh day of the third month in the year 1800. He developed a sound, practical mind, which manifested itself in extreme fondness for the construction of machinery, buildings, water works and all the appliances for a well-ordered manufacturing establishment. The curved stone dam across the Blackstone River at Valley Falls built under his superintendence will remain for centuries, a monument to the thoroughness of his methods. The esteem and regard of those who were long in business relations with him will bear testimony to his unbending integrity.

"The cause of Temperance never found him wanting, either in his example of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks for more than thirty years, or in giving his cordial support by deed and word.

"In the later years of his life he became very much interested in the education of factory operatives.

"After a life spent as he often said, in trying 'to make the world better than he found it,' with too little care for his own rest and ease, an insidious disease, from which he suffered severely for two years, closed his earthly life. No fear of death or of the after life ever for a moment troubled him. Trust in the Eternal Justice never failed him."

Nearly all of Mrs. Chace's own letters which are given in the remaining part of this book, except to members of her family, are taken from drafts.

WILLIAM F. CHANNING TO MRS. CHACE

"*Providence, R. I., Dec. 27, 1870.* I have selected a few books from my father's library to give to friends who would value them. I hope that the essay on 'Peace' may be acceptable to you. No word better befits my father's life."

The volume sent to Mrs. Chace was an Essay on Peace by H. T. Macnamara. It had in it a book-plate inscribed, "From the Library of William Ellery Channing, Boston, 1842," and also this written inscription, "To the Reverend William Ellery Channing,—the noble Champion of all that is Good and Wise, this volume is presented by his sincere, humble admirer

Henry Macnamara.

Temple, London, Novbr 1st, 1841."

In addition has been placed, in the volume, the book-plate of Elizabeth Buffum Chace.

AMANDA CRANE TO MRS. CHACE

"*Providence, Jan. 8th, 1871.* I am prompted to write you by hearing from Mr. Wardwell that you have recently made a visit to the State Farm. I wish you could have been there when I was matron, for I think you would have been interested in many an incident of kindness from some of those whose life has been always one sad record of sin and shame. While under my influence they seemed good and anxious to lead a better life when their sentences expired; but situated as we were, there could be but *few* if *any* reformations. I can only hope, and pray, my efforts were not in vain."

MRS. GEORGE I. CHACE TO MRS. CHACE

[Undated]

"My brother has just been in to say that the plans for the Women's building at the [State] Farm are at his office, and he will be happy to show them to any of the ladies who will come to see them. Tomorrow he will be at the Farm, but if you could come in the next day, we can go together and look them over."

In April, 1871, Edward Gould Chace died, after a brief illness which was the climax of a long-continued malady. Mrs. Chace rose in the night of Thursday to take care of him, and never went again to bed till after his death on Sunday.

William Lloyd Garrison and Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol were the principal speakers at the funeral, which was held in the Valley Falls Baptist Church, the use of which had been kindly offered to the family, and a quartet of volunteer male singers sang, *Nearer, My God, To Thee*.

Ned's death was, perhaps, in a sense, the most terrible of all of Mrs. Chace's great bereavements. I think that after his death she did not turn, as she had done before, towards



EDWARD GOULD CHACE

the thought of spiritual communion as a possible solace. She accepted silence as the doom that was decreed. She loved whom he had loved, yearned even over his dog, babbled sometimes of him, like a child herself, and gradually grew to mention his name less and less often. She had not many letters of his to read; she had little of such outward circumstance as might make her fancy that he was still present in the world,—only as it were in another room. She kept his overcoat hanging for a year on the hook in the north entry of the Homestead, where he had last left it; then one day an ill-clad man came begging to that north door. The mother took down that overcoat and gave it to the outcast alien, and he put it on and went down those steps which her son had climbed, shouting his accustomed greeting to her.

After a while, a grandson with flaxen hair came into the family flock, and she laughed with tender gladness to see his likeness to her long lost boy.

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO L. B. C.

“April 24. Your sad note reached me today. My heart bleeds for you. Mother has dark hours to live just now. I know what such sorrow is, standing as I have done over all that was left here of what to me, though only a petted young brother, was like a son. I shall never forget the pang; it is keen and fresh yet. How constantly God weans us from this scene!

“But you have such a noble life to be comforted by. He lived worthy of all your highest hopes. It is great consolation when we regret only the separation.

“I wish I could come to you. But worn down as I am by the hard winter, I have just got through a heavy cold, and am too weak to undertake so much. I break all my promises here, and am not able to be with you. All I can give is my heartiest sympathy. We have lived and worked so long and

intimately together that your sorrows as your joys must always be mine. My tenderest regards to your mother and brother."

MRS. SOPHIA L. LITTLE TO MRS. CHACE

"*May 26th, 1871.* I feel so much drawn in my mind to say to you what is there for you, that whether you receive it or not, I know you will feel the sincerity and depth of the love that inspires it. There is nothing can satisfy the desires of your heart, but the love of God, and the *living knowledge* of God, and there is 'no man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him.' "

FRANK J. GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"Of all the young men of my age whom I have come in contact with there is not one who had higher and nobler purposes in life than Ned, or who could point to so much active effort toward saving and elevating his fellow-men, as he could in the brief life on earth allotted to him. I count it no small privilege to have known him and known of his work, which is an inspiring example to all those who wish to reach and to save that which is lost."

MRS. CHACE TO MARY CHACE, IN BOSTON AT SCHOOL

"*1871.* Clara's report makes me a little uneasy; that thee goes tonight to hear Wendell Phillips, and tomorrow night to hear Booth. Isn't that overdoing? She says thee is going to the theatre with Mary Read, and I want to say one thing. If there is not to be a gentleman with her, I had rather thee would not go, for it is different going from the theatre so late from going from a lecture. Thee mustn't feel bad at not going; I cannot help being careful of thee when I have had so much trouble."

Mrs. Chace attended the May anniversaries in Boston. The first day of June, which was to have been Ned's wedding-day, she passed at Lynn with her cousin, Mrs. Elizabeth R. Newhall.

L. B. C. to —

"*Atlantic House, Newport, 1871.* Mother has gone to [Yearly] meeting. I went this morning, and it was sufficient for the day. They are making a new Discipline, and have incorporated into it a regular Episcopalian creed.

"Mother and I went to see Col. and Mrs. Higginson yesterday. We had a very pleasant call, and I 'guess' he'll come here tonight. She asked him about having a convention [for Woman Suffrage] here this summer, and he unhesitatingly approved. I think Mrs. Little was mistaken in supposing he was squeamish on the subject, and I'm glad, for I should have hated to have him shirk."

Mrs. Margaret Lucas of England, John Bright's sister, was in Newport at this time and the friendship, recently begun, between her and Mrs. Chace was confirmed.

MRS. CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE TO MRS. CHACE

"*West Newton, June 21st, 1871.* The idea of the undertaking is to enlist women in a combined movement to promote peace: and to that end to hold a World's Congress of women in Europe next year. Just now the work here has been to draft a constitution for an American branch of the proposed International Society. The object I know is one that has your heartiest sympathy. Will you not be able to enlist some of your good R. I. people, and form a 'council,' as it is proposed to call the State branches?

"At least stand as one 'member' for R. I. until you can see the documents and the perfected plan."

Mrs. Chace and her daughters spent some time that summer in Sandwich, New Hampshire. Her old friend, Mrs. Harriet Minot Pitman, was there. The friendship between the Chace and Pitman families was very close; anti-slavery association had first connected the elders, and later the girls of both families had been at school together, and the boys had been college mates. Miss Mary Grew, Mrs. Margaret Burleigh and Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz were also in the group of congenial spirits which collected that summer in Sandwich. A little later in the season Mrs. Chace's party, Miss Grew and Mrs. Burleigh went to Clark's Island in Plymouth Bay. Here came Horace R. Cheney, whose acquaintance with Mrs. Chace's family had begun at Lexington, and had deepened into intimacy after Ned's death, and Mrs. Chace had already become much attached to him. His father was Orrin B. Cheney, D.D., who had been a prominent Abolitionist in Maine, but had worked with the voting, rather than the Garrisonian, anti-slavery bodies.

In the early autumn, Mrs. Chace and her daughters met Mrs. Lucas in Philadelphia, and went with her to Chicago, where they spent a day driving over the city, and wondering both at its splendid newness and its rough incompleteness. The friends separated here and Mrs. Chace's party went down to Davenport, Iowa, to visit Mr. and Mrs. William H. Holmes. It was Mrs. Chace's only Western trip, and as she had the deep instincts of the native of sea-bordered lands, although she liked drives over the rolling prairies, she very much enjoyed meeting a Western woman who talked eagerly of ocean shells and seaweeds. Mrs. Chace said, "That's a very interesting woman."

Mrs. Chace and her party returned to Chicago. They stayed a night in the Sherman House. Waking in the night, they saw a fire in the distance; they laughed, saying that doubtless fire like everything else was managed after some

wonderful fashion in this wonderful new Chicago. The next forenoon they went to Unity Church. Its pastor, the blacksmith preacher, that man of grit and spiritual genius, Robert Collyer, preached a sermon on righteousness and the penalty of wrong doing. He delivered it as though he heard while speaking such command as, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

After the service, Mr. Collyer invited Mrs. Chace and her daughters to supper that evening at his house. They wanted to accept, but their plans were made. They left Chicago just before the twilight came on.

"Men said at vespers, 'All is well!'

In that wild night the city fell."

Before morning, the railroad station from which Mrs. Chace's party had started East, the Sherman House and Unity Church were all in ashes. The news of the great Chicago fire flashing along the wires overtook them on the train, but full tidings reached them at Niagara, where they stopped for a day. It gave the mind a stunned sensation to hear of the still burning city, while gazing at the enormous cataract.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON TO MRS. CHACE

"*Roxbury, Oct. 22, 1871.* Please return my thanks to the Executive Committee of the R. I. Woman Suffrage Association for the invitation they have extended to me to participate in the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Association on the 9th of next month. I dare not promise to comply with that invitation. I am under an engagement to visit my friend Samuel May, Jr., at Leicester, the first week in November, with respect to a forthcoming biography of Samuel J. May. This may not prevent my being at your meeting, but of this I am not now quite sure.

"Give my congratulations to Arnold on his approaching

marriage. I have no doubt that he has made a good choice. Frank hopes to be at the wedding."

A greater, yet subtler contrast between two fine natures could hardly be found, than the subjoined letter seems to indicate between the writer and Mrs. Chace, his moral method being apparently so much less direct than hers, although animated by an equally conscientious desire to arrive at the right result.

ROWLAND G. HAZARD TO MRS. CHACE

"*Peacedale, 10th mo., 24, 1871.* I shall be glad to avail myself of your kind invitation to attend the Convention on the 9th, but to receive instruction rather than [to] instruct others, for though I have given some thought to the important subject to be discussed, I still feel that I need much information upon it.

"I deem it clear, that the right of women to an equal voice with men in making the laws they are equally bound to obey, cannot with any pretense to justice be denied; and I know of no exception to the rule that what is right and just must be accorded to all who ask it. I believe too, that in the natural course of things this must be most expedient and safe. I have no doubt that Woman's influence at the polls would do much to purify our elections and improve our legislative and judicial action, and it would seem too that no want of society could now be more urgent.

"Still I sometimes fear that as even woman cannot be expected to do everything, we may lose something of the graceful, refining and elevating influences she now so happily exerts, and which we do not see how we can spare. But, even if in the contemplated change the loss exceeds the gain, we still have no right to refuse justice to avoid this loss; and I cannot but hope that what is right and just will eventually work out good results.

APPENDIX

ANECDOTE OF MRS. JOHN BROWN

At the time of Frederick Brown's visit to Mrs. Chace, as given in Volume I, page 207, he told an anecdote of his brother in relation to Mary Day, whom he afterwards married. It was omitted from the text of this work because I had fully written it out and formally given it to Mr. F. B. Sanborn to use in any future edition of his *John Brown*, or in any other way which suited his convenience. But Mr. Sanborn has kindly given me back an equal right in the story with himself, and so I insert it here.

The authenticity of the story depends entirely on my memory, but I feel very certain that I remember it with substantial accuracy. I heard Frederick Brown tell Mrs. Chace that he knew when and how his brother first thought of marrying Mary Day.

John Brown was left a widower with five children when he was a little more than thirty years old. In his struggle to provide a living and a home for his little family he boarded in a house where Mary Day, a sixteen-year-old girl, was also an inmate. One evening he heard her go, of her own accord, into the children's bedroom and sing and comfort them to sleep. He listened, some deep emotion came over him, and he said to himself, "What a good mother she would make to them." Soon afterward he married this hardly grown-up girl, who became, as Mr. Sanborn says, the first, best, and most helpful of all the friends who assisted him in his anti-slavery purposes, consenting not only to the consecration to martyrdom of his life, but that of her own sons.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

FROM MRS. R. B. SPRING

"Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., Nov. 30th, '59.—To the family of Mr. John Brown. Dear Friends:

"I would gladly say some words of my own to comfort you, and carry you through this great trial and affliction, but I have them not. May the God of your dear father sustain you as He has him.

"I heard also from your mother yesterday. Her note came part way with your father's letter. She is with most lovely and excellent friends, who will do all in their power to sustain her. I like better to have Mrs. Brown with Mrs. Lucretia Mott than in any other place, except in that prison. I should like better to have her there in that now sacred place which is now

"*'In the very verge of heaven.'*"

MARCUS SPRING TO MRS. JOHN BROWN

"Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., Dec. 25th, '59. . . .

"We shall rejoice to hear all about your plans, especially in regard to the two daughters, whom we hoped it might be found desirable to send here, and even that we might hope to have your whole family somewhere near us. But I suppose the desire of Mr. Brown that you should return to North Elba, and that his remains be buried there, settles that matter with you, for the present, at least.

"As regards our proposal in relation to the education of the two daughters, we wish you to consider that we are prepared to pay the amount named (\$250) towards it wherever it seems best to you (after full consideration) to place them. Should it be elsewhere than here, the bills have only to be sent to me each quarter and they shall be promptly paid.

I am not quite sure but that the \$100 subscription of Mr. Birney for the same object was conditioned upon their coming to this school. But possibly he would change the terms if desired, and it was so.

“With love and sympathy from us all to all your group.”

“Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., April 6th, 1860. . . .

“Do not feel at all troubled, or imagine that we have the least feeling of blame towards you, that the two daughters did not come here to school. We should have been delighted to have had them here, and as it had been pretty generally talked of, that they were expected here, we naturally felt a little disappointed at first, but, on the whole, as these Mass. friends were the old friends of your husband, and they are there nearer your home and the school an excellent one, we do not doubt that your decision was a wise and good one and we rejoice that while it secures the means of education to them, it allows (with your consent) the \$250 to go to other members of the family, in whom we also feel deep interest and sympathy.

“We shall send the checks tomorrow, as you have designated.

“It will always give us pleasure to hear of your prosperity and happiness. . . .

“Any storekeeper will give you the money for this check.”

MRS. SPRING TO MRS. BROWN

“Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., March 23d, '62. . . .

“Some time since a gentleman in N. Y. gave to Mr. Spring for you a piece of cotton goods called Brilliant. I have hoped to find some one going to your neighborhood who would take it. I have asked a shopkeeper in Amboy what he would give for it; he said twelve cents a yard. There

may be 25 or 30 yards. Now shall I let him have it for that, or shall I keep it until I find some one to take it to you or what shall I do with it?"

"*Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., Oct. 3d, '62.* I have got the pink brilliant and today Mr. Spring has taken the package to the express office. I hope to hear that you receive it all safe. Cotton goods have so risen in value that it is very fortunate that you decided to keep the piece. It is now forty cents per yard. So much cotton has been destroyed, I suppose even if the war was over it would still be high."

"*Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., Dec. 12th, '64.* I cannot tell you how rejoiced I was to hear of your safe arrival in California. For a long time we have been very anxious about you all for fear that you might have fallen into cruel hands. But we thank God who has watched over you, and brought you safe through the wilderness to what I hope will prove to you a good land—a land of plenty and of kindness. . . .

"I regret never to have seen your daughters. The one who went South to teach the freed people should have come to see me. I think she must know my cousins Lucy and Sara Chase, who have nobly devoted themselves to this work for more than two years. . . .

"They have had this summer their first rest in a visit North. I think they have returned. Gen. Butler offered them the best house in Norfolk if they would return to the work, in which he has taken a great interest. . . .

"I have just been reading a very interesting account of the progress of the freed people at Port Royal, where I believe they have done better than any other place. Some of our best young people went there as teachers."

* * * * *

SARAH BROWN TO L. B. C. W.

"Saratoga, Calif., Feb. 15th, 1914. The letters [as above] you returned were received Feb. 4th. I am glad to know you found any part you can make use of. . . .

"Thank you for what you remember [that] my Uncle Frederick said of my mother. I always had a great love and respect for her. She was much more than she made any show of by her quiet manner."

